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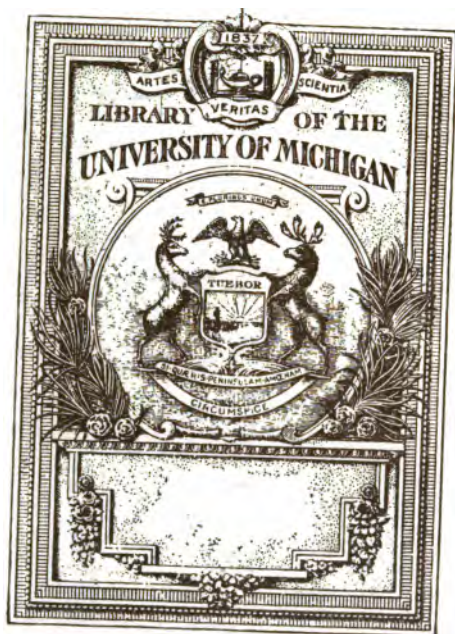
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A PERSONAL SKETCH

EMILY PALMER CAPE



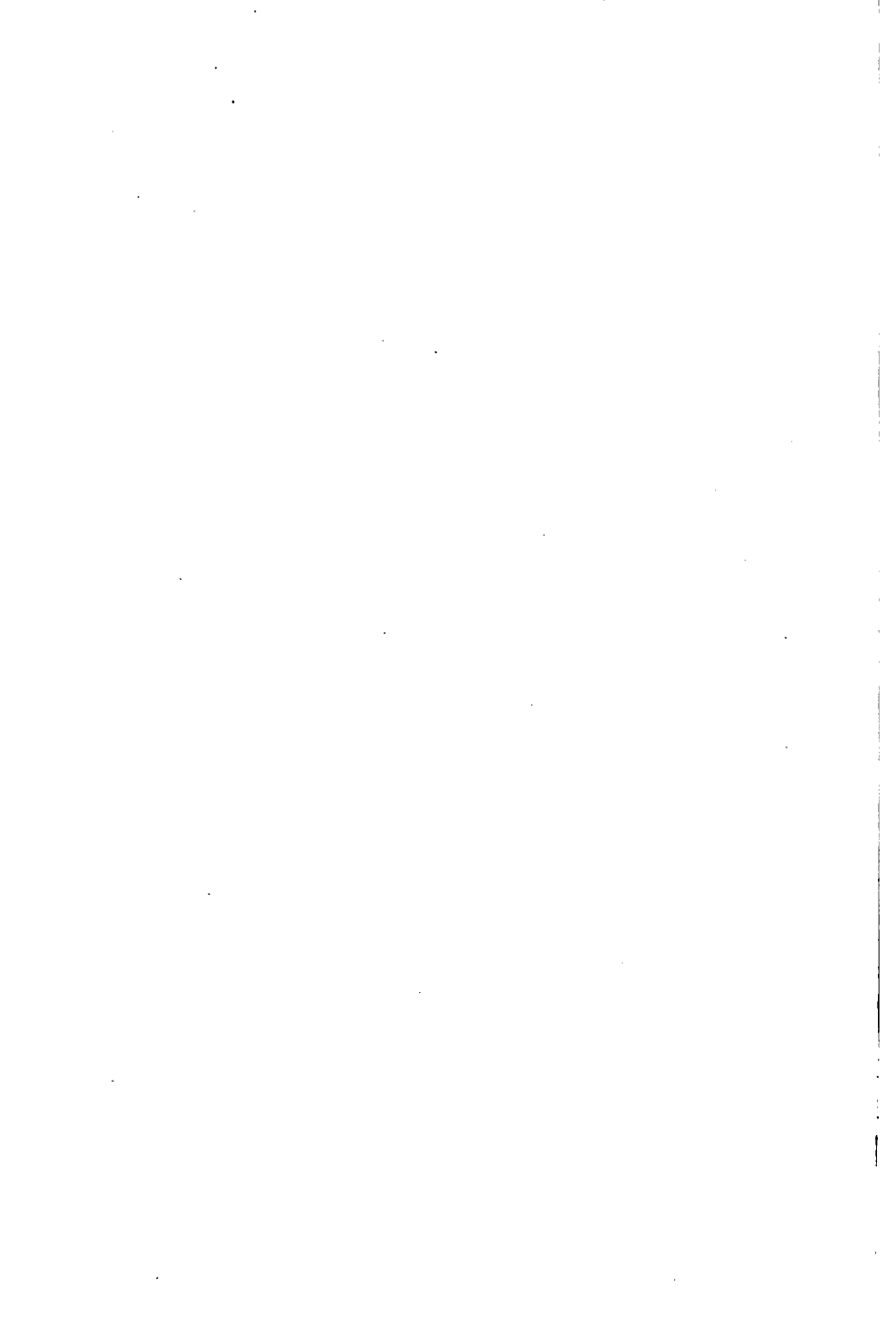
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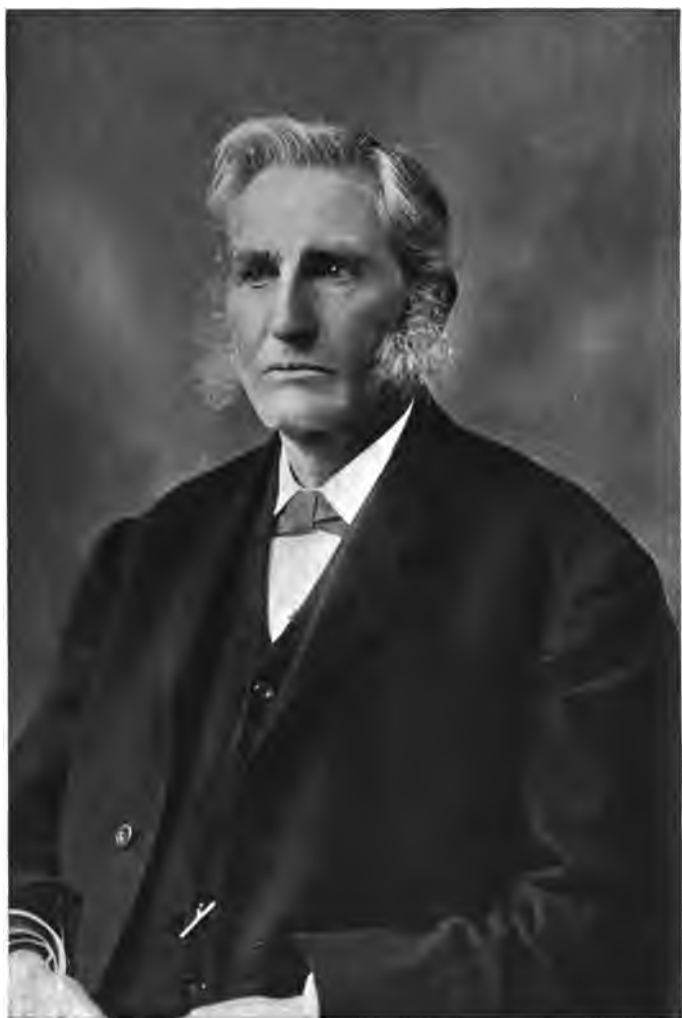
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Lester F. Ward

From a photograph taken when 69 years of age

MASTER F. WARD

A PERSONAL SKETCH

By

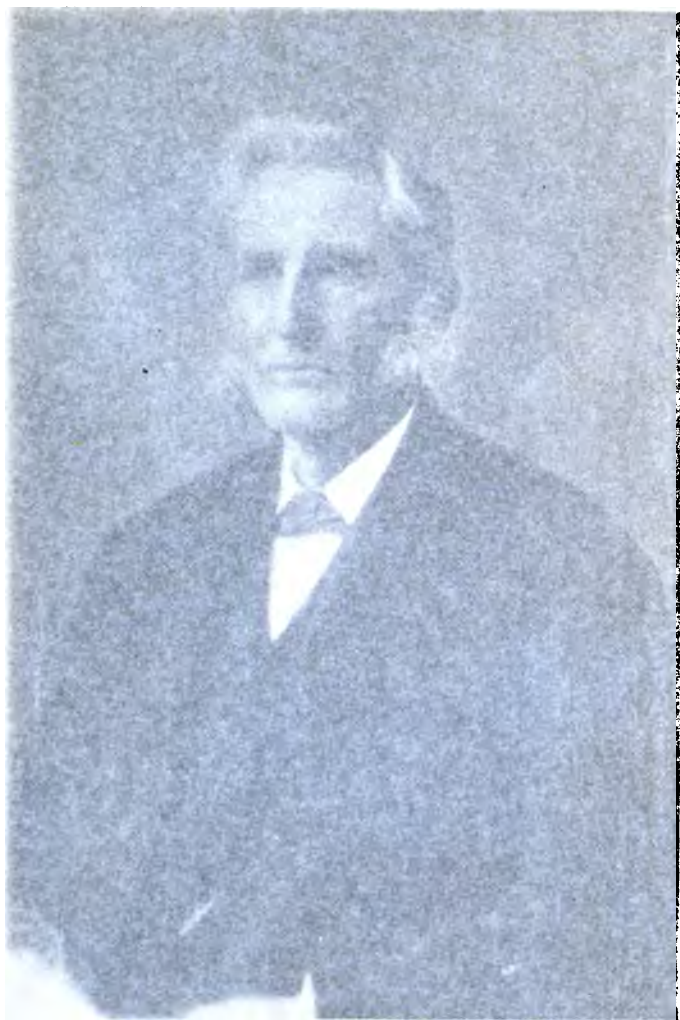
EMILY PALMER CAPE

Author of "Fairy Surprises for Little Folks,"
"The Art of Chiropodasy," and Co-Editor
of "Glimpses of the Fairies."

ILLUSTRATED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press

1922



Mr. F. Wood

Member of the Board of Directors

LESTER F. WARD

A PERSONAL SKETCH

By

Mrs. **EMILY PALMER CAPE**

Author of "Fairy Surprises for Little Folks,"
"The Art of Chirography," and Co-editor
of "Glimpses of the Cosmos"

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W. A. C. C.
W. A. C. C.
W. A. C. C.
3-1-1923



06-6-23 W.
*This book I dedicate to my husband, my son,
and my daughter:*

HENRY CAPE

HENRY CAPE, JR.

MARY STORY CAPE

*who shared the friendship of Dr. Ward with
me and often enjoyed his charming conversation
and delightful companionship while visiting at
our home.*

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“ . . . in going down into the secrets of his own mind he has descended into the secrets of all minds. He learns that he who has mastered any law in his private thoughts, is master to that extent of all men whose language he speaks, and of all into whose language his own can be translated.”

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

“THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.”

PREFACE

IN sending this to the publishers, it is with a keen sense that the results are far from drawing near to the ideal of what I had indeed looked forward to for years, but as explained in the Foreword the means through which this was to have been accomplished was suddenly wiped out, and yet with the completing now of my efforts I feel deeply that there is a silent power in the words of great men and that ideas freely spoken, when from a love of Truth and a sincerity of spirit, cannot help but carry a far reaching effect on life.

It is therefore to the student, and the general reader who is always interested in the more intimate thoughts of noted personalities, that this book will appeal.

Preface

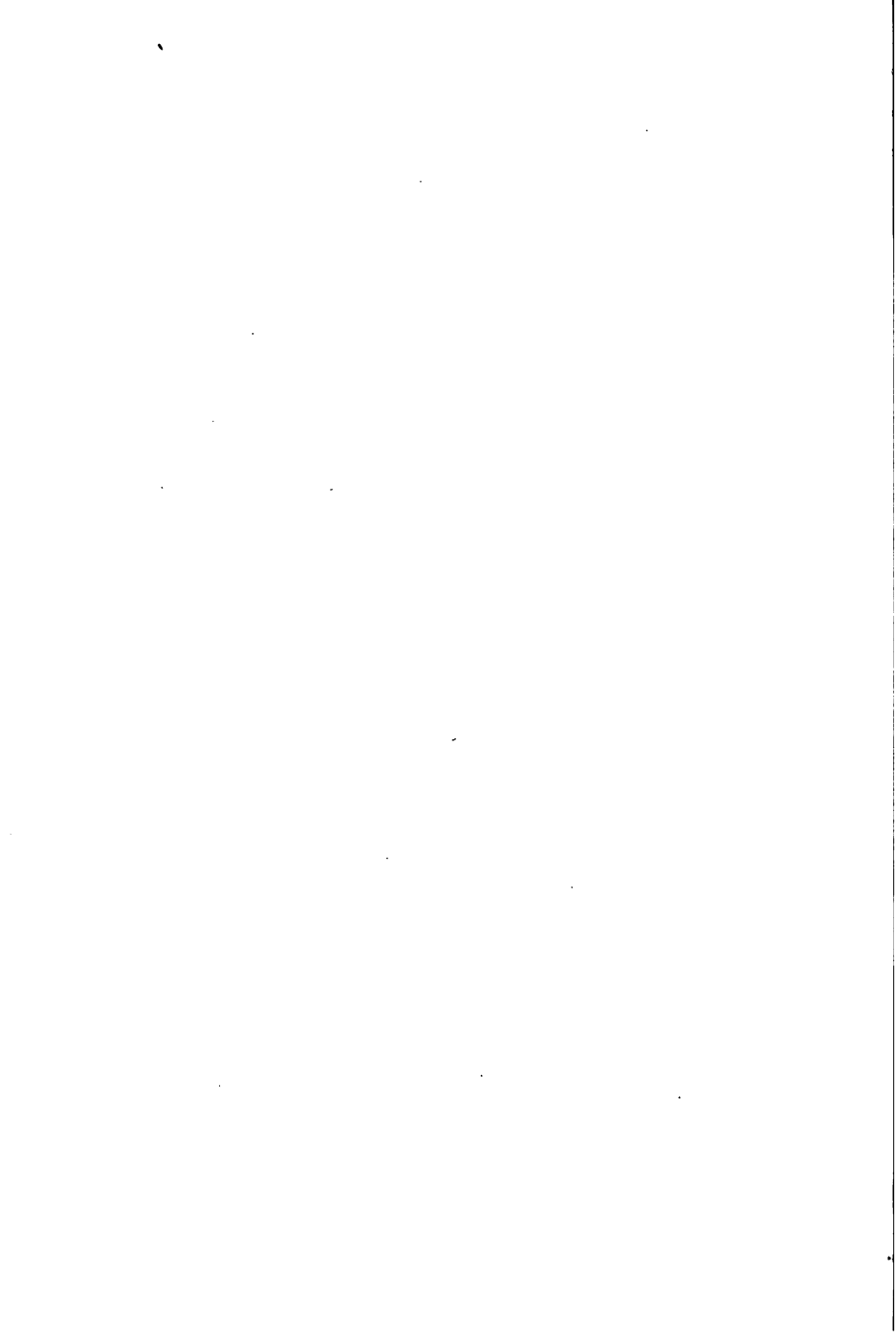
In conclusion, I desire to express my appreciation of the kindly suggestions and helpfulness I have received from my friends Professors Franklin H. Giddings, Ira W. Howerth, James Q. Dealey and H. L. Koopman.

E. P. C.

NEW YORK CITY
January 1922.

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LESTER F. WARD *Frontispiece*

From a photograph taken when 69 years
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Lester F. Ward
A Personal Sketch

FOREWORD

FOREWORD

THOSE who take up this book expecting to learn something more about the personal side of Lester F. Ward are entitled to know how the author came to undertake the writing of the following pages.

For several years I was closely associated with Dr. Ward as co-editor of his work entitled, *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, six volumes published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1913: Comprising his minor contributions and biographical and historical sketches of all his writings. Month after month I worked with him. We went through all his personal papers. I found in the wonderful and beautiful friendship thus developed a revelation of qualities of mind and heart which could be perceived only through intimate and harmonious relations.

Lester F. Ward

Naturally I learned much of the man and of his life. He often told me: "No one has ever gone over every detail of my life's journey as you have."

There is an important fact which must be explained so that those who know and admire his work may appreciate why the following sketch is not so complete as I hoped it might be. Ward had the habit of keeping a diary. This was to him one of the most important matters of his life. Never did a day pass but a few lines were inscribed. No matter how tired he was at night, always before retiring he would note down his doings of the day. When I was at Madison, Wisconsin, working with him at the University, and when he was staying at my summer home for several weeks, I noticed that he never let an evening slip by without making "his entry," as he called it, "while," as he remarked, "things are fresh in the mind." This practice he enforced upon himself from early manhood.

Thus he filled a large number of hard, paper-covered blank books (about 3½ in. by

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6 in. in size). These contained many fine thoughts, criticisms of books, people, places, etc., and mentioned, often in a most witty way, experiences he had in his travels.

They contained also many original ideas about the countries he had visited and considerable data concerning each; something about all the great conventions he had attended, in some of which he had been president, and of the many societies of which he had been a member, in different parts of the world; names of the noted people he had met, and often remarks upon their conversation. All through the pages there were little signs and symbols which he had explained to me, so that I might know just where to turn to his private letters and papers for more details. No one else ever went through all these books with him, or understood the private markings. These diaries I expected to use in the preparation of his biography.”¹

¹ On February 20, 1911, in replying to my asking him to write his autobiography, he says: “I don’t want to write my autobiography and have it appear while I am alive. It doesn’t seem the thing to do. *You are the one to write*

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When serious illness took him from his University duties, he wrote me of his having to leave Providence and asked me to meet him at the station on his arrival in New York. Never shall I forget that early morning when he arrived. He was so weak that I asked: "May I not go on to Washington with you? I fear to have you go alone." But he said No, that when rested he would feel better, and could go on very well by himself. He grew better as we chatted, and asked me to open his satchel so that he could hand me a bundle of papers and letters he wanted to give me. Then he said: "I hope to return soon, but you know where all my papers, diaries, and letters are, and what to do with them at any time." I did not like to talk of these things then. When the train time came he seemed much brighter and bade me adieu.

After a few weeks of severe illness in Washington, where he had gone to the home

my biography from all the data that I shall *leave*, but it will be done after I have left them." (The "data" signified the diaries. The above italics are in Dr. Ward's letter.)

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of his wife, who had been an invalid for some time, he passed away.¹

After his death the diaries, those pages written so faithfully for years by the great soul who had even wished that they might go down to posterity in his own handwriting, and which I was to have handed finally to the Congressional Library at Washington, where all the manuscripts of his great books now are, were, sad to relate, destroyed. For this reason I am unable to give to the world as much concerning Dr. Ward as I expected to give.

One other point I feel it is necessary to make clear. In giving to others a closer knowledge of Dr. Ward, and the many remarkable and splendid thoughts expressed in friendly association, it was impossible not to introduce a certain amount of the personality of the author of this book. To have omitted every mention of self, would have been to lose to the world many of the most

¹ Rosamond Asenath Simons was married to Lester F. Ward as his second wife in the year 1878.

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beautiful feelings and most profound truths expressed so clearly by Dr. Ward in private letters and in conversation. Accordingly there was no choice but to risk the seeming self-obtrusion, and hope that those who read will be generous enough to believe that the author would prefer to remain in the background and feels modestly in regard to her personal relations with the great man of whom she writes.

Several brief biographical sketches of Dr. Ward have been published, and a general survey of his life and work may be found in Vol. I of *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, under the title "Personal Remark."

From the many letters and much data in my possession I shall be able to offer a more intimate portrait, and thus share with those who feel a sincere admiration for him, and give to future generations who may study his noble works, some facts in regard to his life, and many of his thoughts never before in print. Of a thought expressed in a letter he would sometimes say: "Save this and use it

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in the future for I have never expressed the idea so clearly, or perhaps so originally before."

Quotations from these personal letters will reveal inner qualities, thoughts and emotions, which a man of Lester Ward's nature seldom shows to the world at large. Thus to many may be brought a new vision of the man who took but few into his confidence and lived the last years of his life very much alone.

He had a large number of letters from students and friends, and from persons whom he had never met, but who had read his books, begging him to tell them of his personality, of his life and of his personal emotions and his opinions on present day conditions.

After reading to me such letters he would sometimes say: "Not now, but after I am gone you may tell them, for I seem of so little importance to myself; yet I too have felt about others as they seem to feel about me."

As I had no intention of writing a critical account of Dr. Ward and his contributions

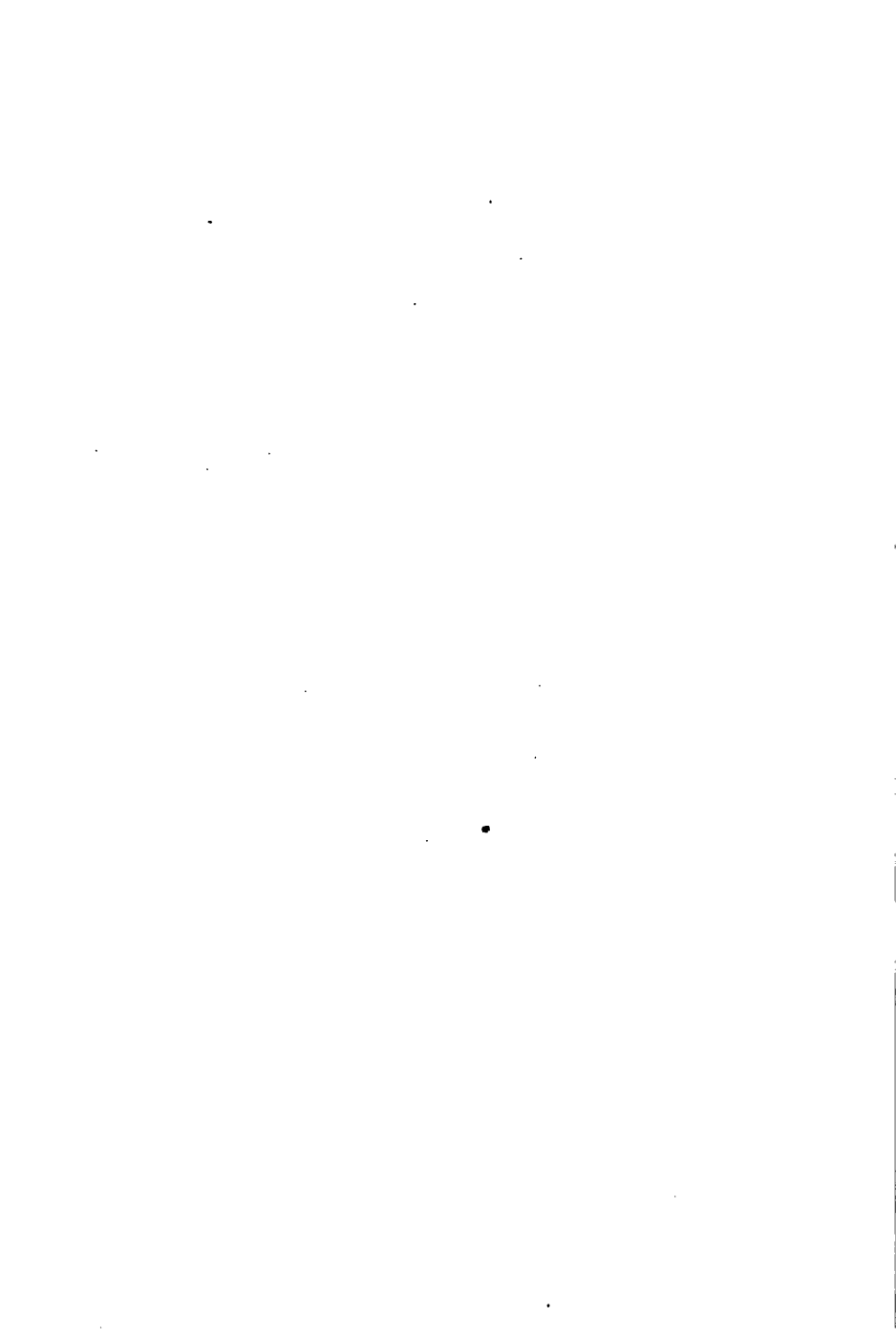
Lester F. Ward

to science and philosophy, I have not burdened my pages with references, not even when quoting from his published works.

Dr. Ward's emotional nature was sublime, and only one knowing him through the heart as through the brain, realized how the following pages will reveal that nothing is more true of Lester F. Ward than that he had: "The mind of a sage, the heart of a woman, the soul of a poet."

EMILY PALMER CAPE.

LETTER FROM
PROF. JAMES Q. DEALEY



BROWN UNIVERSITY,
January 5, 1922.

MY DEAR MRS. CAPE:

I am delighted to know that you have just completed your manuscript giving sidelights on the life and personality of Lester F. Ward. Knowing him intimately, as I did during his seven years at Brown University, I realize that there were many aspects of his character not necessarily revealed in his formal writings. He was, for example, really fond of social life but was so absorbed in his work that to a quite large extent he lived a lonely life during his last years and was seldom found in social circles except those connected with the university. On the other hand he was always glad to receive callers at his rooms and many students availed themselves of this privilege.

He had a deeply emotional nature, but suppressed by his close devotion to intellectual pursuits, yet when the news of his wife's serious illness came to him, he wept like a child in my home in telling me of her condition. This same tender heartedness was shown in his almost

Lester F. Ward

bashful fondness of children, and in his sympathy with sorrowing friends.

At Brown University he used to enjoy the daily chapel service led by President Faunce and was most faithful in attendance. He once confided to me that he had planned to write a short volume on Religion, expressing his conception as to what sort of religion a scientist might hold, based on scientific teachings rather than on supposed revelations. It surely would have been interesting if he had had time to work out the ideas he had in mind. He once jokingly remarked that he needed about fifty years additional of life in order to complete all the writings for which he was collecting material.

In matters of duty he had a Stoic conception of obligation. He was seldom absent from his classes and was most systematic in the preparation of his lectures. He once tried to arise from a sick bed so as to meet his classes and was induced to remain only on my promise that I would lecture to them myself, so that the young men would not be disappointed. He little suspected how students enjoy "cuts" even from favorite teachers. Almost up to the time of his death he gave his lectures as usual, though he could barely put one foot before another and could hardly carry the weight of his books. The news of his death brought great sorrow to the Campus for all realized that a great scholar

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had lived among them and would never be seen again in body. The students of his day will always remember his tall form, slightly stooped, advancing slowly along the campus path, green bag under his arm, and his big blue eyes almost hidden under the slouch hat he preferred to wear. These hats he used to purchase at Paris, he said; at intervals, I suspect, of about seven years.

Let me again, Mrs. Cape, express my pleasure that you have completed your Sketches; I trust that they will make the great Sociologist known in character as well as through his intellectual achievements.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES Q. DEALEY.

CHAPTER I
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Lester F. Ward

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

THOSE we call great men stand above the immeasurable multitude and the same laurel crowns them all. A common language is theirs, a higher fellowship exists among them. They know nothing of castes, of kings, or pariahs, and each holds in the strength of his simplicity a torch whose light shows the way to those who seek the path of true progress.

When on April 18, 1913, the news went forth of the death of Lester F. Ward, many in all parts of the world felt the pain that comes with the loss of a noble friend.

Lester Frank Ward was born in Joliet, Ill., June 18, 1841. He was the tenth and last

Lester J. Ward

child of a family of good blood but not wealthy. When he was a year old his parents, Justus Ward and Silence Rolph Ward, moved nearer Chicago, to a place called Cass, now known as Downer's Grove, about twenty-three miles from Lake Michigan. Dr. Ward often spoke of his humble origin and sometimes in his lectures he would remark that he was "a true Pleb." As he says in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, p. lxvi,

My mind has always been trimmed toward the future rather than the past. [And continues on the same page]: Firmly convinced for most of my life that the human race has been ascending, and not descending, I have cared little for my ancestors, except in a biological sense. But I have always had a horror of degeneracy, the proof of which, in certain individuals, families, and even communities, is manifest. Pride of ancestry is a mark of degeneracy. One of Robert G. Ingersoll's bright epigrams was that those who are most proud of their ancestors usually have nothing but ancestors to be proud of. When asked if my lack of interest in genealogy was due to the fear that my ancestors might prove to be low, I always answered that it was

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rather from fear that they might prove to be eminent, and I degenerate.¹

A remote ancestor Andrew Ward, born in 1597, played a somewhat important rôle in the Colonial history of Connecticut. He led a band of early American settlers along the coast from where the eastern line of Bridgeport and New Haven now is, to a section near Stamford. He was buried in a cemetery of the town of Fairfield, Conn., where he lived longest, and where he died. In June, 1907, a monument was erected to his memory. I accompanied Dr. Ward on a visit to the grave of this ancestor, and as we stood by the grave, Dr. Ward said: "And he too wanted to free humanity."

Lester Ward's father owned a large mill on what was named Ward's Creek, and sawed the wood for the "bridge-towpath," and also, as Dr. Ward once told me, he was the brains that engineered this big work.

¹ Silence Rolph, his mother, was the daughter of a clergyman, scholarly, refined and fond of literary pursuits, of high attainments, with versatility of gifts and accomplishments.

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Once when Dr. Ward was visiting my country home, in Stamford, Conn., as we were sitting on the porch of my studio on the shore, he talked at length of those early days and spoke as if he could see and hear the mill sawing the logs into their various lengths. Then he quietly remarked: "How I used to ask questions, and how I wanted to help!" and smiled at the recollection.

When about nine years old young Lester (his comrades used to call him by his middle name, Frank) went to school at St. Charles, Kane Co., Ill., about 1850. He remained there until 1854.

To those who knew him well it was delightful to sit and hear the widely renowned sociologist tell of his early youth. His first school books he would describe in detail: *Saunders' Readers* and *Olney's Geography* at Cass; at St. Charles, *McGuffey's Readers* (1st, 2nd and 3rd). With a quiet twinkle in his keen and kindly eye, he would relate many a story of his childhood, and smile over the difficulties he had encountered in

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attempts to satisfy his innate desire for knowledge.

From St. Charles, his father, mother and elder brother, Erastus, and Lester, journeyed in a canvas covered wagon to Iowa, and remained there until his father's death in January, 1858.

In speaking of this period of his life he enjoyed bringing back memories of the thoughts and feelings such primitive experiences awakened. He and his brother, he said, often talked over their futures, and discussed how they were to see the world.

After the father's death, the boys, Erastus and Lester (Frank) returned to the little homestead at St. Charles with which the family had never parted. There was an especial affinity between these two brothers. A love that is seldom known between men enriched their lives; and though their minds developed in different directions, for Erastus was naturally a mathematician, and Lester was a splendid linguist and philosopher, their genuine characters, love of truth, sincerity

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and desire for knowledge, united them so closely that Dr. Ward never spoke of that brother without a tenderness which was beautiful to see.

In this little homestead these two boys kept house alone, keeping "bachelor's hall," as he laughingly told me. Every moment they could possibly put upon study they did. Their mother lived with a daughter two miles distant, under very straitened circumstances. The boys supported themselves, Lester by farm work, Erastus by machine work. They tried to save enough in the summer to pay for their schooling in the winter.

What a deep longing to know inspired these boys, with so few school advantages! They read and talked until late at night, and often ate less food than they really needed, in order to buy a book they desired.

In a letter to me, April 17, 1912, Dr. Ward writes:

I was (in youth) hampered by poverty and adversity, by the necessity of earning a living, by

A Personal Sketch

being born in a backward region, and having to find my way to a more enlightened one.

It was at St. Charles that "The Spaniard's Revenge" was written (1858). It is his first published literary production. It is reprinted in Vol. I of *Glimpses of the Cosmos*.

In 1858, Cyrenus, another brother (my "big brother," as Dr. Ward called him), nine years older than Lester, begged the two young brothers to come to Myersburg, near Wysox, five miles from the town of Towanda, Pa., and help him in a factory for making wagon-hubs. There was a promised chance of going to college in a few years. They went and worked faithfully, not only learning every part of the business, but turning their hands to other kinds of work too.

The boys were disappointed in the general management of the affair, and left with only wagon-hubs as pay. In the words of Dr. Ward: "this business failed at the end of two years, leaving us two years older and no nearer college." Not being able to dispose of the hubs, the outlook financially was very

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discouraging, and in 1860 Lester, foreseeing the crash six months in advance, withdrew and started to teach in a country school. After doing farm work in the summer and teaching school in winter, Lester saved enough money to go to the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, Towanda, Bradford County, Pa., for the spring and fall terms. During the summer vacation he worked at haying and harvesting for farmers.

Here I may refer to a conversation with Dr. Ward one evening after a busy morning at Columbia University, where he was lecturing, and a busy afternoon, too, in our work on *Glimpses of the Cosmos*. He had talked of so many various subjects, and all in such a broad, big-visioned way, that I remarked how wonderful it was that he was so learned on so many subjects, and that ever since he was a youth he had been a natural leader of thought. He sat a few moments in silence and then quietly told me of the great surprise he had had when a young man, in finding that his knowledge, largely self-

A Personal Sketch

gathered before entering the "Susquehanna Collegiate Institute," caused his rapid promotion in his classes. He said that before he entered he was shy about meeting the other students, as he felt his lack of what they had had in academic training. But as he said: "It is the honesty of purpose, the depth of the desire, and the thoroughness of the work that counts."

He had four terms at this Institute. Then came the strong desire to enter Lafayette College, at Easton, Pa. He worked hard to prepare for entrance, but the War of the Rebellion came on and in 1862 both Erastus and Lester went to the front.

Lester was wounded. Some of his correspondence from the hospital may be read in *Glimpses of the Cosmos* and it is remarkable how even in those immature productions the greatness of the soul of the man may be felt.

Any question of emancipation, of freedom for humanity, always keenly appealed to him. One evening after several hours of work, he spoke of his entrance into the War of the

Lester J. Ward

Rebellion. It was an experience he never could forget, for he was deeply in love at the time with a young woman, his first wife. The call to the colors was strong in his soul, so the two young people married at once, and Lester left immediately for the battle line.

I can hear Dr. Ward now, his head resting on his hand and the light shining over his face saying: "She was so noble, helped me so splendidly to go! I shall never forget; it was a hard thing to live through." Then it was that the first real love entered his life. Mrs. Ward's maiden name was Elizabeth Carolyn Vought. He always lovingly spoke of her as Lizzie.¹ She was a bright, intelligent woman who loved to read aloud and to study with her husband.

Writing on August 13, 1912, after consulting his diary, he says:

Just fifty years ago to-day, Aug. 13, 1862, I was married to the woman who first called out

¹ The youngest of five sisters. She was born in Wysox, Bradford County, Pa., in 1842, died in Washington, D. C., 1872, and was buried in Rome, Pa.

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the romantic sentiment in me. The ten years (out of which came the nearly three years that I was in the army, for I went to war immediately after we were married) that I lived with her, forms a very memorable part of my life. I was especially reminded of it now, because the *Iconoclast*¹ work all came in that period. She was as liberal as I, and actually contributed some articles and poems to the *Iconoclast*.

The articles for the *Iconoclast* (see *Glimpses of the Cosmos* Vol. I.) were particularly remarkable for the period of history in which they were written. The broader views of the interpretation of the Bible had not been accepted. The rational and scientific progress of our day, bringing religious liberty to many, was only in its earlier stages. Thus Lester Ward was among the first of his generation who struck a blow at superstition and ignorance.

In the opening words of his Salutatory editorial in the first number of *Iconoclast*, March, 1870, he says:

¹ "Iconoclast" articles in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Putnam Pub.

Lester F. Ward

In this age of rational and scientific progress it seems eminently fitting that organs of mental and religious liberty should be multiplied to keep pace with the spirit of inquiry. . . . If we attack superstition it is because we regard it as an enemy to the human race.

Lester and Lizzie studied French together. During the ten years of their married life the young couple often laughed and chatted over their love-letters, all written in French. They were very proud of them, as they felt that the foreign language gave them a certain privacy, and evinced an accomplishment which few in those days possessed.¹ She bore him one child, a boy, who lived not quite a year.

During the last few years of Dr. Ward's life he turned more and more to thoughts of his first wife, and the sacrifices she made for him in those early years. He kept a portrait of her to the very last, the only picture on the wall of his own room at Brown University.

¹ I have read all these letters. Nothing was ever sweeter, more sincere, or more full of thought and charm.

A Personal Sketch

He often told me that the face was very beautiful to him.

After the war he settled in Washington, and worked for the Government.

During the next few years he had little time to devote to his own study, yet he attended the Columbian, now the George Washington University, graduating in 1869 with the degree of A.B. In 1871 he received the degree of LL.B. and was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and that of A.M. in 1873. From then until 1881 he continued his studies, specializing in botany. In 1881 he was made Assistant Geologist of the United States Geological Survey, a post which he held for two years, when he became Geologist. In 1892, he was made Paleontologist. He held this position until 1906, when he resigned to accept the chair of Sociology at Brown University.

From early youth questions of humanity interested him. In each subject he took up he had in mind some special relationship it

Lester F. Ward

should have to his one particular goal, the developing of his great system of Sociology. It is most remarkable how he kept such a steady flame of conscious purpose during all his many years of study, to make the crowning science of his life and work stand at the very summit of the hierarchy of the sciences about which he wrote so much. He was an expert botanist, and his many scientific articles on botanical subjects made those who knew not of his other works call him "the botanist."¹ But sociology was his main interest. He labored fifteen years to complete his *Dynamic Sociology*, so anxious was he to make it as nearly perfect as possible, and so deep was his desire to think out each position clearly.

An interesting account of the burning of the volumes of *Dynamic Sociology* in Russia, may be read in the preface of the first volume. Surely it was an unconscious honor to their

¹ He was also a geologist, and on the subjects of biology, anthropology, and psychology, he wrote numerous articles many of which may be found in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*.

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author to attribute such power to his books that it was thought necessary to burn them.

His system of philosophy is set forth in his Sociological volumes, *Dynamic Sociology*, 1883, *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 1893, *Outlines of Sociology*, 1898, *Pure Sociology*, 1903, *Applied Sociology*, 1906, but these, though the most important of his writings, are but a fraction of the gigantic amount of work he left behind him.

Anyone who turns to the volumes of *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, will appreciate the remarkable range of subjects he was interested in, and upon which he wrote with knowledge and originality. It was the noted sociologist and philosopher of Austria, Ludwig Gumplowicz, who wrote of Dr. Ward, after a long talk with him, that he was a "giant of intellect." Perhaps no two essays can give a better idea of his masterly mind than those entitled: *Status of the Mind Problem* and *The Natural Storage of Energy* (Vol. V, *Gl. of Cos.*). One day when talking on the problems of the mind, while we were

Lester J. Ward

on the shore of Lake Mendota, Madison, Wisconsin, he said to me:

If I have any copies left I will send you on my return to Providence, my *Status of the Mind Problem*, and also *The Natural Storage of Energy*. They are as carefully worked out as anything I ever wrote, [and then smiling he added]: But you must not think I want you to like them.

His acquaintance with people throughout the world was as wide and varied as the subjects on which he wrote.

He counted among his friends such men as Herbert Spencer, and Ernst Haeckel, both of whom he knew personally, and with whom he corresponded. His works were translated into many languages, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian and even Japanese. The people of Japan are remarkably well acquainted with his philosophy.

Dr. Ward was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a member of the National Academy of Science, of the Anthropological, Biological and Geological Societies of Washington; of

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some of these he was President. He was the first President of the American Sociological Society. In the American Philosophical Society, the American Economic Association, and the International Geological Congress he was looked upon as a great power.

While at Brown University he was invited to become a member of the famous Greek letter Society, *Phi Beta Kappa*, but declined the honor; I heard it remarked by others that it was the first time in the dignified old society's history that anyone had even thought of not accepting such an honor. His declination was not due to any lack of appreciation of the honor, but simply to the fact that he had already had all the experience of clubs and associations that he desired. He was living near the end of his career, and was giving his entire thought to the perfecting of the work he was so deeply interested in.

In 1900 he was elected President of *L'Institut Internationale de Sociologie*, in France. In 1903 he was elected President of and pre-

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sided over the fifth Congress of this Society at the Sorbonne in Paris.

After Dr. Ward accepted the chair of Sociology at Brown University, Providence, R. I., every one who met him there was drawn toward him in sympathy and admiration. It was noticeable as one walked along the streets of Providence with him, that the distinguished looking old gentleman with the soft black hat and long black coat was known to nearly everyone. Many times the pedestrian would turn and gaze. Sometimes, while standing on a street corner waiting for the traffic to pass, one would hear: "There, that tall man is Dr. Ward." Yet he seldom noticed anyone as he went along, always walking rapidly and thinking of something that was far from the passersby.

After his death, I prepared the following statement which appeared in New York and London papers:

From our midst has passed a striking figure, a great soul, one who was far in advance of his age. It is as true with men as it is true in nature and

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art, that whatever attracts us of a high order is felt through a certain power most difficult to analyze. A melody is breathed forth, and the violin's notes awake us to a sense of delicious joy. A beautiful landscape is seen and we are conscious of gathering to ourselves a calm, a loveliness, a strength which though silent is real. It is this way with a truly great man, a sense of gain, of enlargement, of uplifting penetrates us and we are the better, nobler for having crossed his path. Thus everyone who ever knew Dr. Ward felt that helpfulness and strength which alone shines out to the world from the soul of a true genius. His life was given to humanity, he longed to show men the way of nobler living. Grimm has said, "The study of history is the contemplation of events as they stand in relation to great men," and in the future when men truly begin to realize the vast amount of benefit the works of Lester F. Ward will do for humanity, his name will be as a torch which lightens the way for all toward progress.



CHAPTER II

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

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PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE characteristics of great men differ in accordance with their temperament, their nationality, and their environment. But all great souls have certain traits which are basic in their natures: earnestness of purpose, the power of inhibition, unconquerable will, and courage. These were all highly developed characteristics in Lester Ward.

The warm spirit and genuine love for man which the pages of *Dynamic Sociology* everywhere breathe involuntarily causes a picture to arise before the reader's mind of a large-hearted, and at the same time, liberal and broad-spirited man, whom it would be an honor to know personally and who ought to be popular with those whose good fortune it is to be brought into daily contact with him. A book like that, full of thought rich in information, catholic in tone,

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logical in method and scholarly in style, goes even further than this, and reflects an image not only of the author's mental and moral nature, but even of his personal appearance, and although this image is far less likely to be just than is the other, still it may often be not very wide of the truth. Those who have pictured Mr. Ward as a full-size man of large frame, six feet in his stockings, with broad shoulders, full chest and frank open countenance have correctly divined the bodily source of the magazine of wisdom and learning from which their idea was drawn.

Blessed with a splendid constitution and excellent health, a fine example of the *mens sana in corpore sano*, nature has done for him what no amount of education could ever do, and the solid character of his work is the natural product of his solid and all-sided nature. Shall the reader thirst for further details he may be told that the color of Ward's eyes is now gray, whatever it may have been at birth, that his hair is brown, now becoming sprinkled with silver threads, that his teeth are sound, regular and white, so much so as to have several times given the impression of being false, and that his neck is short, which prevents him from looking as tall as he is. The slight forward projection of the head which he seems sometimes to exhibit he believes to be due to his early hard labor and incessant study,

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and to this he adds a curious theory which deserves mention as illustrating his character. He says "that only conceited people are perfectly erect. The modest mind never dwells long on the appearance of the body. It is absorbed in objective contemplation or in work that almost always bows the head forward, and most abstracted people, as well as those who lead servile lives, stoop or become more or less bent forward.

Perhaps the remark that all truly great men are simple and childlike, may be made with particular emphasis of Lester Ward. He never showed the least sign of pride or aggressiveness in asserting his tremendous knowledge. He would often sit silently, listening to others talk, and then, if asked what he thought about the subject under discussion, would calmly and simply place the whole matter in relief, apparently visualizing it as an artist, and then proceed to elucidate it as only a master-mind could do.

His nature was childlike in its love of romance. When walking through the forest, he, so tall and strong, and I by his side so

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small, he would merrily say that he was the stag and I the fawn, and then recite a long passage from the *Lady of the Lake*. Then, throwing back his head, he would laugh with glee at remembering the lines he had not thought of for many years. Then perhaps an interesting talk on memory and all its various aspects would ensue.

He loved nature, and to be out of doors; when taking the long walks we often did, he would remove his hat, if it was not too hot, and as we walked through the wild fields, deep woods or rough brush and brambles, he always had some particular point to reach which he knew would reveal some lovely vista or interesting geological formation, or exceptional flower or tree.

At every splendid old rock or well uncovered stratum, he would stop and give me a long and beautiful description of the earth at the time of that particular formation. Every bush and tree had a meaning, in its development. A lesson on the evolution of sex in plants was something wonderful to hear.

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If he found a young bird fallen from its nest, he would stoop, pick it up gently and replace it. Insects furnished delightful studies on our walks. I shall never forget my mentioning to him a certain flying insect as a "big bug." He was so disgusted that anyone should not know the difference between the various groups or families of insects. Then and there I had to learn the names and description of each class. Many times on our country tramps Dr. Ward would speak again and again of the loss to people in not being taught the simple laws of life and of the things about them everywhere. "It is wrong," he said, "that every young person does not know the simple truths of botany and geology and astronomy, the natural scientific facts of their own native environment." He always stressed the power of an education which teaches a knowledge of the materials and forces of nature, and their relation to our own lives.

He hated fighting for the sake of fighting, and disliked all sports that had the least tinge of cruelty or pain. He originated the word

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Philalgia, viz.: the love of pain, and often traced the diminishing thread of cruelty through advancing civilization.

The sense of joy in pain-giving in early barbarous tribes, the horrors in early Chinese punishment, the Spanish Inquisition, the gladiatorial shows in Rome, the treatment of the serfs in feudal times, prison methods, bull fights, and even some of our own sports in which the possible danger of injury, as in football, gives a touch of interest and excitement.

One evening, after having seen at the Century Theatre in New York the play, much talked of then, called *The Nigger*, he interpreted the story and spoke of the deep truth in the law of the assimilation of races, and dwelt a moment on the distant future which he believed would bring a true assimilation of all peoples of the globe. Then he dwelt upon another thought: the natural fight that ever goes on against all progress, how everything advances through struggle and opposition. Then he added: "The knowledge of the *Telic* method would so benefit the race."

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His system of teaching in university classes was unique. He used cards on each of which was a topic, a reference perhaps, and a leading thought. These cards could readily be adjusted to the length of his lecture. Each group of them contained a full outline of the subject discussed. They have been preserved and are now in the "Ward Room" at Brown University. I have used many of them in my own classes and have thought of publishing them so that others could use them. Each card is valuable not only on account of what it contained but also on account of its being a link in the chain of his development of the entire subject.

He had the ability to express concisely and on the spur of the moment any thought he wished to clothe in words. Ideas jotted down in his notebooks were often transferred to his book without change in their forms of expression. The following thoughts were written out one day when I asked him to inscribe something original in my "Ward Set."

Lester F. Ward

Dynamic Sociology, Volume I.

It is the ceaseless striving of man to satisfy his wants, it is effort, *conation*, that transforms the environment and brings about civilization.

Dynamic Sociology, Volume II.

Universal education is the true lever of progress. It lifts all to the highest level attained by any.

The Psychic Factors of Civilization

The hungry soul craves rest, and the most perfect rest comes from a recognition of the absolute continuity of nature.

Outlines of Sociology

Inspiration is necessary to all thorough work. It is the fire of the soul that burns every problem to the socket.

Pure Sociology

Whatever is worth being is worth knowing. True purity consists in a complete knowledge of real things.

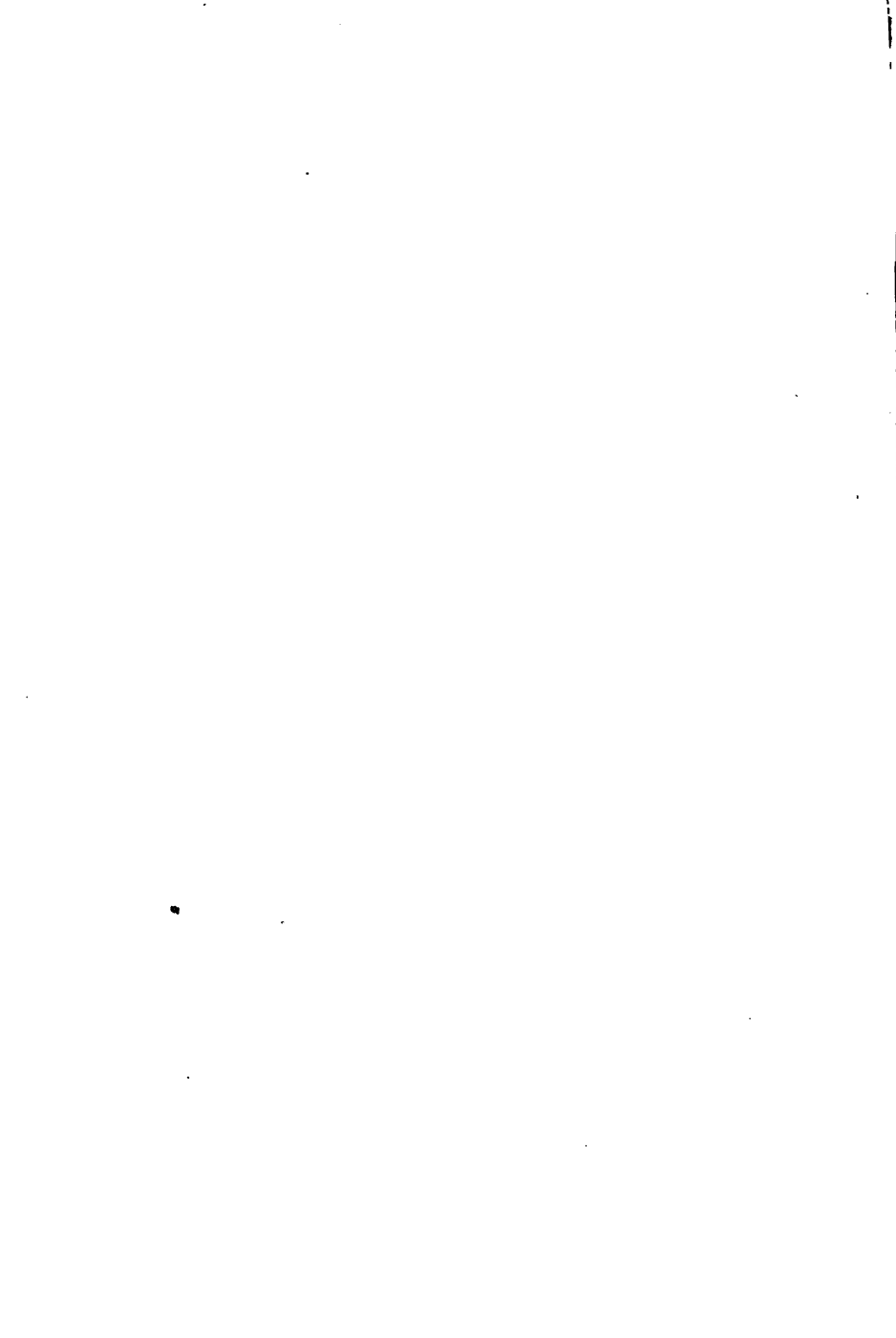
Applied Sociology

Genius without self-respect is sterile. A just estimate of one's powers is an essential prerequisite to achievement.



Lester F. Ward

From a photograph taken when 45 years of age



A Personal Sketch

A Text Book of Sociology

Great thoughts demand great books, but in a busy world they may be distilled.

He made a deep study of the sciences in order to become a truer and finer philosopher. All knowledge was to be used for the sake of Humanity. He did not love human beings as Walt Whitman did, *en masse*, but he felt there was a great potential power in the *genus homo* and he longed to give of his best, to awaken others and to share with them whatever wisdom he had gathered. He loved the humble and those desirous of knowledge.

When traveling he preferred a day coach, because he felt a sense of democracy with the people who could not afford a pullman. For the same reason he always preferred to carry his own satchel, no matter how heavy it was, because, as he often said: "I dislike the idea of a porter when I am able to carry my own luggage; it is so false a standard of service."

Once he was asked, by a student at one of his lectures, if his own life did not prove the

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very reverse of what he taught regarding environment; that is, that the environment more than heredity makes the man. Dr. Ward smiled and said: "No, it is true I have accomplished a certain amount, but who knows what I might have done if my mind had not had to put forth so much effort and time on the daily necessities of life?"

Those who knew him closely realized his deep pleasure in all the elemental forces of nature. He enjoyed a heavy storm, and would stand in the window or out on the porch whenever there was heavy thunder or vivid lightning. When at sea, the last time he went to Europe he wrote: "the immensity of space, the tremendous waves, and the sublime starry heavens impress me with a sense of cosmic unity that fills me with life and infinite joy."

In conversation one often wished for an invisible note-book, to note down so many fine sentences and such quick exchanges. When asked if he did not think that *to be good* was sufficient religion, he replied:

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"Negative good is of little use; one should be positively good."

In his study at Brown University the photographs of Darwin, Huxley, Comte, Haeckel, Vauvenargues, Condorcet and Spencer were placed over his bookshelves, and while we were at work he often when reaching to get a book, would touch one of the portraits and make some loving remark as if his mind felt a sense of nearness and admiration for these mental friends.

He once remarked that he did not care for Browning. Because, as he said: "I do not understand him." One day in one of his classes in Columbia University, a student quoted certain lines from Browning and asked him what he thought they meant? Dr. Ward glanced over the room and saw me sitting toward the back of the class. Then with a smile, he said: "I refer you to Mrs. Cape. I know little of Browning's poems." After the class he seemed to enjoy the little joke he had made at my expense, and we laughed over it together.

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Walt Whitman was a poet he never learned to read until late in his life. He did not particularly admire *Leaves of Grass* but certain lines he would pick out for their strength and sincerity. "Whitman was a man of fearless thought," he would say.

There lingers over the names of some men something that like a breeze blowing off the shores, stirs and inspires us to action and to finer thoughts. Such is the name of Lester Ward to those who knew him. No one can read his books or essays without feeling a tang of mental exhilaration breathing into his very being. When it was once remarked to him that his writings seemed to move one to the very depths, he replied: "I never wrote anything except what I, myself, felt deeply." He never wrote a book "on order," seldom a short article. He used to say he wrote only after he was so full of his subject that it would not stay in, until he was forced by the necessity of expression to write what he felt and thought.

Dr. Ward had a keen sense of humor which

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it was delicious to awaken. He had so many funny stories to tell that they never seemed to end. On a walk beyond Providence, R. I., one day I happened to be very quiet, enjoying the scenery. He interrupted my silence by telling me this story:

I knew a professor once who was noted for going on long journeys and never saying a word. I invited him to go for a walk and made up my mind I would not say a word unless he spoke. We walked along for a full hour and a half; I led him to a most beautiful point of land jutting into the water. This lovely neck of land had been used as a graveyard. When we came to the charming view, and the professor saw the many graves, he turned to me and said: "It is a horrible shame to think that the dead should show so little respect to the living!"

A story he enjoyed telling was of a meeting with Haeckel, the great biologist, and Ostwald, the noted chemist. They were discussing the subject of helping humanity, and the word that would best express the method to be pursued, and Haeckel said: "*Genesis*,"

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Ostwald replied: "*Analysis*," and Ward answered: "*Synthesis*."

On being accused of inconsistencies, because of some minor things in his books, on which he had later changed his mind, he retorted: "I never want to be a mule tied to a post."

On page 52 of *Glimpses of the Cosmos* (Vol. I) Dr. Ward mentions my having helped him in finding some of the "appropriate literary ornaments" for his work. In one instance he was much pleased, and laughed heartily at the way I discovered the particular essay in which a thought from Emerson was found. He had the quotation but did not know the essay in which to find it. So he sent it to me thinking I might know. The words are: "Be a good animal." I hunted through my volumes of Emerson, and not finding it I reasoned this way: to be a *good* animal a man must be a gentleman, and to be a gentleman a man must have manners. So I turned to the *Essay on Manners*, and there found the words. We had a merry laugh over

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the way I found the sentence, and a good long talk over its deeper meaning.

The sense of unity, of continuity in life and thought was very strong in him. The quotations illustrating this unity and continuity, which he called "embellishments," placed at the opening of the chapters of his books, were most carefully selected. He often spoke of them as "glimpses of truth dropped along the wayside of time."

One day, as we were seated on the grass by a beautiful pond, as they call the lakes about Providence, and leaning against some old trees, I was reading aloud to him the opening chapters of *Heights and Depths*, a novel of mine. Before each chapter I had placed a quotation to suggest the theme. I noticed his eyes fill with tears, and he said: "It is so beautiful, the way you have worked the unity of thought through every 'embellishment,' into your story, that it fills me with emotion, as the great thought of unity and continuity ever does!"

Comradeship of thought was a keen delight

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to him, a "glory of life." One evening on his last trip to Europe he wrote from his state-room, "talked with his pencil," saying, that to feel he could "talk on paper" and express his ideas as in conversation, was "a joy he would not shorten even for a walk on deck to-night."

Ward made free use of the Library of Congress. He often went there to perfect his writings in the matter of finding and verifying quotations; to study botanical subjects; to find books' titles, dates for indexing, etc. He was most particular about the interpretation of special words. In regard to the word *Kohelet*, he wrote, June 20, 1905:

Dr. Adler had pointed out to me that the *Kohelet* is the same as the Book of Ecclesiastes, and that the passage occurs in Chapter I, verse 18, of which the King James translation is: "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." He says that is a good rendering of the Hebrew. My German bible is quite different, embodying a different idea, and so it is in a French bible I have. Hartman put it: "Wer die Kenntniss mehrt, mehrt das Weh." But I imagine he only

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translated Schopenhauer's Latin in his own way. In view of all this I am quite disposed to give the Hebrew in my book and comment on it in the bibliography.

David Hutcheson, who was working in the Library of Congress during one period of Ward's life, has written me a most interesting letter regarding his acquaintance with Dr. Ward. This letter reads:

1221 Monroe St., N. E.,
BROOKLAND, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
Sept. 22, 1919.

MRS. EMILY PALMER CAPE:

Dear Mrs. Cape:

I first met Lester Ward in the Library of Congress, where I was then an assistant, and where he frequently came to consult books. I also met him at the meetings of the Anthropological Society of Washington, and in the rooms of the Cosmos Club. And two or three times I was a guest to meet other friends in his home in Rhode Island Avenue. I was also twice one of a party of about a dozen including Ward and his wife, who went up the river by canal boat and spent Sunday on the Virginia side of the Great Falls of the Potomac. We also met at various places

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and were friendly, but hardly on a social basis. My position in the Library of Congress and his need to refer to books while he was writing his *Dynamic Sociology* led to our friendly relations. In a modest way I had the pleasure of helping him in his researches, especially in the preparation of the bibliographical list of authorities which he printed at the end of his books. The prefaces of his books show how generous he was in his acknowledgments of the slight services I was privileged to render him. I came to have a very high regard for him. What I saw of his work showed me how thorough it was. He never would quote at second hand, and always verified his authorities. I have known him to spend many hours seeking to find the original source of some quotation he wanted to use. He had little sense of humor, and outside of his special studies, his reading was not extensive. He never however pretended to have knowledge which he did not have.

His radical religious opinions, and his serious outlook on life did not tend to make him popular; and I always felt that he never received the recognition which he ought to have had for the good work he was doing.

Up to his going to Brown University, and my leaving the Library of Congress, he sent to me, as they appeared, all his books and pamphlets and articles in periodicals. A few weeks ago

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having to remove a portion of my books from a room where I had some of my books shelved, and not having any proper place to put them, I sold them to Mr. Loomis (Lowdermilk & Co.) and among them were Ward's books and pamphlets. They were nearly all inscribed as gifts from him to me. One book I retained. From March, 1870 to August 1871 he edited *The Iconoclast*, a four-page monthly, published in Washington. He brought two complete copies to me one day, saying they were the only copies left, and he gave one to the Library of Congress, and one to me, and this I still have. His own articles he marked with a cross. They are outspoken and vigorous expositions of his radical views on religious and other matters.

I heard from Mr. Loomis that you were preparing a biography of Ward, and I was glad to know that it was being done. The life of a man who has done such good work ought not to be unrecorded.

Faithfully yours,

DAVID HUTCHESON.

Mr. Hutcheson never discovered Lester Ward's "sense of humor," or his "extensive reading." But those who have heard him tell deliciously funny stories, or have seen his

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eyes twinkle at the many comical things one sees in traveling, or his merry smiles as one read aloud to him, or have heard his running comments, know that he had a spring of humor that was never dry.

His reading was in fact *most extensive*, but not in modern novels and the lighter literature. He never read anything in a translation, but always waited for the original text. He could read Greek, Latin, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Russian, and had studied some of the older Eastern tongues.

It is true that Lester Ward did not look for popularity. He felt that he could never accomplish the work he had laid out for himself, if he allowed the social element to enter too largely into his life. And yet, one day while walking from the University (Brown) down the hill into the streets of Providence, he pointed out an artistic old house and said: "What would I not have given to be able to have had all the fine minds I have known gather around me in a home of my own."

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I do not believe there ever lived a soul that practiced inhibition more than he did. He had so schooled himself in every line that many could not realize or even imagine the sportive, genial, loving, merry nature that was hidden beneath the student-philosopher's exterior.

He had will-power few could match, a tenderness that was as noble as a woman's, a thoughtfulness of those he truly loved, that none could deny. He had a sense of modesty regarding his own mental power that was almost incredible. He analyzed himself as if he stood apart, and dissected his own character as if it belonged to another. He was conscious of having had in youth little "self-assertion" or rather perhaps "self-aggressiveness," and often remarked that it was "a difficult thing to conquer an inborn feeling of self-depreciation." As above mentioned, on the fly leaf of my *Applied Sociology*, he wrote: "Genius without self-respect is sterile. A just estimate of one's powers is an essential prerequisite to achievement."

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Of any man who teaches others in groups, one is likely to find amongst the students a certain general note signifying the basic quality of the man's character. If it were possible to print a letter from each student Dr. Ward happened to have, I believe there would be one harmonious chorus sounding the praise of the various fine qualities each had perceived in him. They speak among themselves of his sincerity, frankness, earnestness, deep feeling, keen analysis, efficiency, interest in his subject, belief in humanity, justice and orderliness. Such are the traits that his students mention as they discuss their renowned Professor of Sociology.

Lester F. Ward was an honorary member of the Rationalist Press Association (R. P. A.) in England, and its monthly review, *The Literary Guide*, he received regularly. He always slipped a new number into his coat pocket to be read at restaurants while waiting to be served. He would make a pencil mark along the margins of pages or paragraphs

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that particularly attracted him, or make a note regarding some thought he might wish to enlarge upon, or with which he did not quite agree. After finishing the reading of the magazine he would mail it to me, and write saying: "This is long overdue, but it takes me some time to read it all through when I keep it for my meals or in the trolleys."

A conversation once led to the question of what purity consisted in, and in his quiet, simple way, he said in effect, what he wrote on the front page of my volume, *Pure Sociology*: "Whatever is worth being is worth knowing. True purity consists in a complete knowledge of real things."

The following incident is illustrative of courage and tenderness: I had said to Dr. Ward, after we had spoken of the Civil War, and he had related certain conditions lived through: "You have the soul of an artist; you both see and feel beauty." Then he told me this story: "On the battle field during heavy fighting a lad carried the Flag and as he turned to speak to me, a bullet from the

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enemy felled the boy to the earth. It was so pitiful, so useless, so ugly, I stopped and covered the lad with his beautiful flag." Then, after a moment's silence he continued: "I so well remember standing a moment to gaze upon him, forgetting the bullets flying so near to me."

When in Washington, after Dr. Ward's death, I went one day to look at No. 1464 Rhode Island Avenue, where he lived in 1890. A gentleman came down the steps and crossed the street to where I stood. He halted a moment, as if deciding which way to turn, and I spoke saying: "I beg your pardon, but did you not come from number 1464?" "Yes," he replied, "I was calling there," and he naturally looked surprised. I hastily told him that I had walked around to gaze at the old home of my friend, Lester Ward. The gentleman then very kindly told me that he had been acquainted with Dr. Ward, and had heard him lecture at the Geographical Society, and added: "Ward was indeed a

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great man and deeply admired." He also gave me the names of several scientific men who knew Dr. Ward well, and my thanks are thus doubly due to Mr. H. L. Buell.

Dr. F. V. Coville was good enough to give me an hour of his time, at his office in the building of the Department of Agriculture. He spoke with a sense of kindly remembrance of the long walks he had taken with Dr. Ward and of their botanizing together.

One day while walking in Providence from the railroad station, where he always met me on my arrival, we stood a few seconds by the fountain which beautifies the Plaza there. He had received news of the death of a friend, and that led to the subject of burial. I asked him if he believed in cremation. His reply was characteristic: "Why, yes, I believe in cremation, as you do, but after I am gone I do not wish to impel others to suffer, if they prefer any other kind of burial; it matters not, does it?"

He was buried at Glenwood Cemetery in

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Washington, but after a short period his body was removed to the Brookside Cemetery at Watertown, N. Y., to be placed near the second Mrs. Ward's remains.

LETTER FROM
DR. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS



LESTER FRANK WARD was one of those exceptional men who are beloved and respected by fellow mortals who cannot altogether agree in opinion, and who, in particular, are not of one mind in their reaction to the philosophical teachings of their friend.

Mrs. Cape rightly describes him as childlike in his attitude toward the world. There is, however, more than one kind of childlikeness, and Ward's was that of the child who never has been frightened and who therefore meets the world more than half way, sincerely and frankly. Retiring and thoughtful, and a little shy, he nevertheless had no concealments from his friends, and his revelations of himself to them were always those of one who has not so much as thought of caution, surely never has studied it. Whoever, then, reads these pages, is bound to remember that they were written for Ward's friends in life and for such as are capable of learning now to care for him by way of acquaintance through what he wrote and did. It is my understanding that he expected Mrs. Cape to publish this material, and, indeed, exacted her promise to do so. She has had no choice, there-

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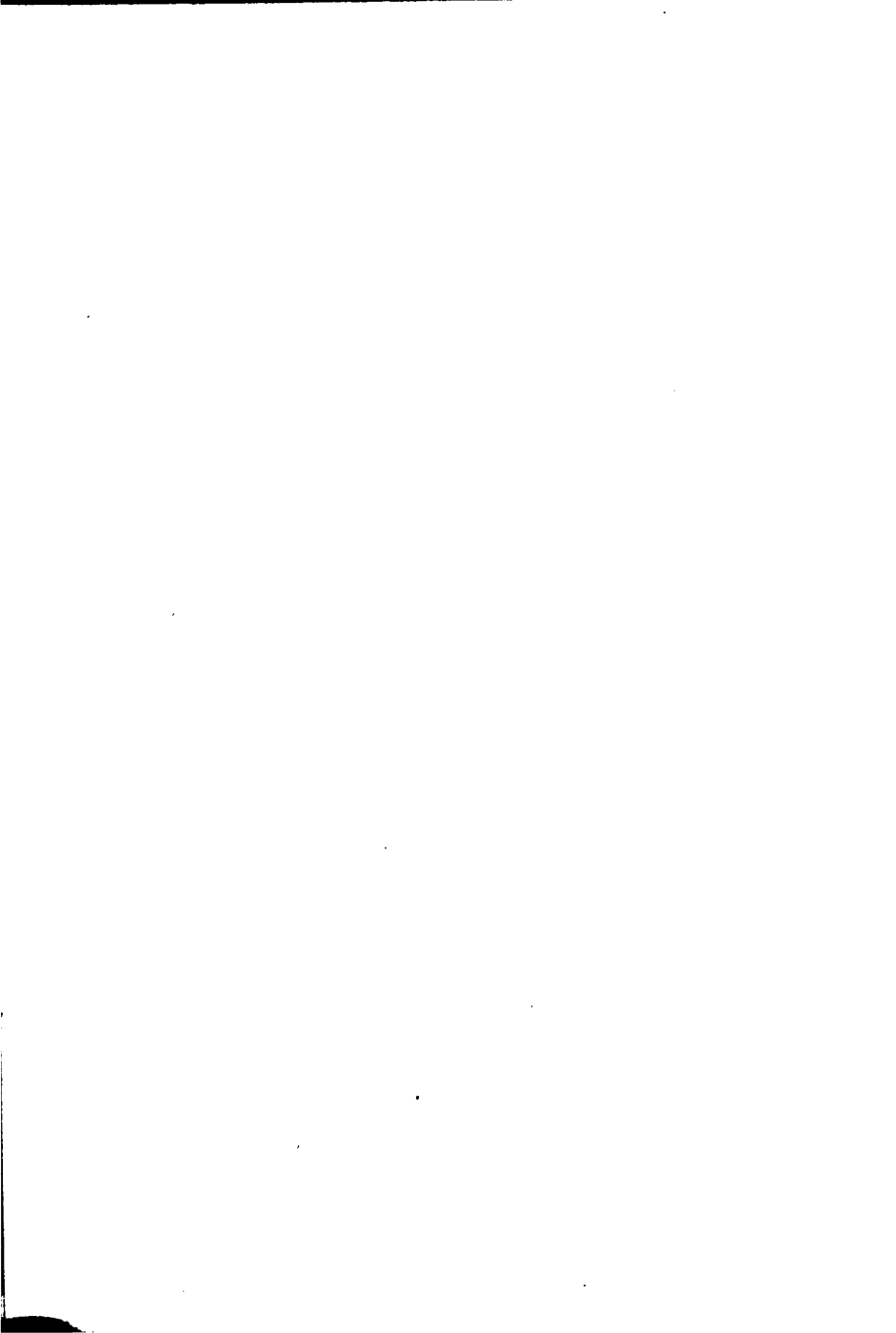
fore, but to keep her word and fulfill his wishes.

Agreeing or disagreeing with Ward's opinion, approving or disapproving of his teachings, the thousands of students who have been stimulated by him will find here the picture of a courageous man who lived and spoke as he thought, who passionately desired the amelioration of the lot of the masses of mankind, and whose kindly face and gentle speech were the expressions of a kindly soul.

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS.

CHAPTER III

“MY ONLY DESIRE IS TO KNOW THE TRUTH”



CHAPTER III

"MY ONLY DESIRE IS TO KNOW THE TRUTH"

"My only desire is to know the truth, my only fear to cling to error."—*George Eliot*.

BORN in the first half of the nineteenth century it is almost incredible that the ideas and thoughts of Lester Ward were originated, developed, and published when the majority of people had never even dreamed of such things. Those who follow the evolution of his mind, as presented in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, his "mental biography," as I called it, find a special significance in the productions of his early manhood, the vigorous articles in the *Iconoclast*. These are chiefly an attack on the dogmatic teachings of theology. In them he endeavors to destroy by sarcasm and witty denunciation the unscientific beliefs of orthodoxy. Thus he

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showed early in life both progressiveness and courage.

When those *Iconoclast* articles were written Ward faced a very different public from that of to-day. The later discoveries of geology and chemistry, of physics and astronomy and biology, were known to but few. Ward knew them and his great love of truth impelled him to give them to others, although he saw that the new knowledge would change their entire outlook on life.

Ward belonged to the same type of man as Huxley, Spencer, and Comte. He had broad views and a natural sense of proportion. His vision was cosmic. He viewed creation as a whole, with no beginning, no end, forever an eternal change, evolution under Law. There are no gaps. He believed, for instance, in the biological origin of mind, and that the origin of intellect presented no mystery. "Intellect," he said, "is primarily an advantageous faculty and came into existence through the action of natural selection or the survival of the fittest in the struggle for

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existence. If so it is of biologic origin.” (*Pure Sociology*, p. 475.) He never discusses the question of a God. To him, as to Laplace, the God hypothesis was unnecessary. The laws of nature have always existed; they were not made to order. I believe the only time he uses the word *God* in his writings is in *Pure Sociology* on page 136, and here it is used only as the great utterance of the Cosmic urge:

Nature [he says] is not only a becoming, it is a striving. The universal energy never ceases to act and its ceaseless activity constantly creates. The quantity of matter, mass, and motion in the universe is unchangeable, everything else changes—position, direction, velocity, path, combination, form. To say with Schopenhauer that matter is causality involves an ellipsis. It is not matter, but *collision* that constitutes the only *cause*. This eternal pelting of atoms, this driving of the elements, this pressure at every point, this struggle of all created things, this universal nisus of nature pushing into existence all material forms and storing itself up in them as properties, as life, as feeling, as thought, this is the hylozoism of the philosophers, the self-activity of Hegel, the will of Schopenhauer, the atom-

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soul of Haeckel; it is the soul of the universe, the spirit of Nature, the "First Cause" of both religion and science—it is God.

And yet, as I have shown, he was not irreligious. His thoughts on religion were not as many have supposed they would have been. He never spoke of religion in a scornful or jesting manner. He had indeed a very religious and poetic mind, believing in the great sense of feeling that men must forever be fed by the beauty and aspiring attitude which religion ought to inspire. On page 429 in *Pure Sociology*, he says: "A true, rational, and consistent love of animals and man, because they are all feeling creatures, is a noble impulse and marks the highest point in purely ethical development.

"Here we should probably stop, but there is another step that seems to be in the same direction, although it transcends the bounds of the ethical world and hence can scarcely be called a form of altruism. I refer to the *love of nature*. It is not love in the sense of possible sympathy or of any conceivable

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benefit that can be done, and yet it still is love. It is the connecting link between the moral and the æsthetic, and yet it is not wholly a sense of pleasure in the contemplation of the beautiful or the sublime. It is perhaps rather a religious sentiment, and is probably the last and final stopping place of religion. . . . For nature is *infinite*, and the serious contemplation of nature brings the mind into relations with the infinite."

His desire was that orthodoxy and unscientific teachings should be blotted out through education and in its place be given the true knowledge of the materials and forces of nature.

His was a nature completely emancipated, and one may seek over the face of the earth or through history and find but few who so thoroughly had evolved into a free man.

Ward's emphasis of the feelings, then, as the great dynamic agent, and his classification of the social forces have a subjective basis. He found all these forces in his own nature, and whenever he could give free play

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to that wondrous nature, nobly, beautifully, æsthetically, he did so, and rejoiced in the possession of those psychic civilizing agencies that he knew to be so intense and real.

Ward was one of the first to give to the world true views with respect to woman. This he did in the fourteenth chapter of *Pure Sociology*. This chapter brought him more amusement, from curious questions, expressions of appreciation bordering on the sentimental, etc., than anything else he ever wrote. Women wanted to meet him to express their admiration, I might almost say, adoration. He found it difficult to respond to some of the letters he received without hurting the feelings of the writers. Long poems, verses, and sometimes gifts of a sentimental character were sent to him, but seldom was there among his correspondents one who really seemed to grasp the true significance of that Chapter.

Ward believed in the future development of what he called *gynandrocra*tⁱc society, a state in which both men and women will be

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free to rule themselves. But he never attempted to prophesy the exact conditions or occurrences of the future. He knew that the understanding of a law or principle does not enable one to delineate the circumstances and adjustments of its future operations.

In discussing women writers one day, the name of George Eliot was mentioned, and it was with keenest interest and sincerity that Dr. Ward spoke of her as a woman he should like to have known and then he quoted the words of George Eliot he admired and used so often: "There is a life apart from circumstantial things."

Some of his students expressed disappointment because he did not give them a cut and dried formula for making the world over, and a detailed description of what it is to become. But he would tell them that one may know beforehand the chemical elements of a combination, or the individual factors in certain crossing-of-strains in vegetable or animal life, and yet not be able to predict the properties and forces that would result from combining

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or crossing, or the relation the new product would sustain to other compounds or organisms. So it is with society.

His ideas in regard to the sexes and what is known as "natural love," discussed in a purely scientific spirit in his *Pure Sociology*, startled many, and were denied, even condemned by that type of person who, besides being unscientific, looks upon all discussion of sexual relations as sensual. Such persons cannot understand the sincerely spiritual, the beautiful, pure and good attitude he always took in contemplating the laws of life. To him, science taught even the spirituality of matter.

Ward believed that in time the world, instead of being ashamed to speak of sex, or keeping youth ignorant of its marvelous laws, would come to understand these laws, and teach them to the young, perceiving that "the great life-tonic of the world, the sublimest and most exalted as well as the purest and noblest of impulses" is infinitely important in its influence upon the soul

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life, that its effects are spiritual, and race-making.

The purity and nobility of natural love [he says] have been perceived by all great minds, [that] such a tremendous power in society should require regulation . . . but what are all marriage systems but modes of regulating this power?

. . . but (it) cannot, any more than any other natural force, be destroyed or suppressed. It can only be directed. But it may be wrongly as well as rightly directed. It may be made to flow in dangerous as well as in safe channels.

The distinctive significance of Ward's teaching is to recognize the psychic factor in human society. He found a place in his sociology for all the higher spiritual values of civilization. Religion was a "force of social gravitation which holds the world in its orbit." His aim was always for *truth*. He believed in the utility of the knowledge of the facts of nature. He says:

It has been proved that crime may be prevented by broadening the mind of the criminal with knowledge that he can never make any direct use

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of, and I have myself maintained, and still believe, that astronomy is a more practical subject than ethics to teach to the criminal class. [Again he says:] Truth is rightly conceived as always possessing at least a potential utility and, therefore, as always worthy of investigation.

Some one suggested to him at one time that the principles underlying his *Dynamic Sociology*, or the great elaboration of his *social forces* were too simple to revolutionize, were little more than truisms. He replied: "Such fertile principles lie at the foundation of social science. Their simplicity is like nearly all important truths, easy to understand."

A few paragraphs from the close of Chapter VI in his *Applied Sociology* show the high minded and positive feeling he had toward Truth:

Mr. Robert G. Ingersoll, when asked if he could suggest any way by which, if he had the power, he could improve the universe, replied that he would first make health catching instead of disease. All this error of which we have been speaking may be looked upon as so much social

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disease, which, under the laws of imitation so ably worked out by M. Tarde, is contagious, and is passed on from mind to mind and from age to age. And just as the mission of medical science is to do away with disease and replace it by health, so the mission of social science is to do away with error and replace it by truth. It may be said that this is the mission of all science, and so it is. But all the science in the world has failed to remove any of the great world errors. They still stand in the face of it and are shared by the mass of mankind. The false ideas have, indeed, been disproved, and the true explanations of natural phenomena have been furnished, but all this has little social value. The number who know the truth is relatively insignificant even in the most enlightened countries. The business world takes up the scientific discoveries and utilizes them, and the mass avail themselves of the resultant advantages, but they have no idea of the true significance of scientific discovery. The great bulk of every population on the globe is steeped in error. A wholly emancipated person finds himself almost completely alone in the world. There is not one perhaps in a whole city in which he lives with whom he can converse five minutes, because the moment any one begins to talk he reveals the fact that his mind is a bundle of errors, of false conceits, of superstitions, and of prejudices that render him utterly

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uninteresting. The great majority are running off after some popular fad. Of course the most have already abrogated their reasoning powers entirely by accepting some creed. The few that have begun to doubt their creed are looking for another. They may think they are progressing, but their credulity is as complete as ever, and they are utterly devoid of any knowledge by which to test the credibility of their beliefs. And yet these may be what pass for "educated" persons, for, as a matter of fact, the education that is afforded by the systems of the world not only does not furnish any knowledge but expressly disclaims doing this, and aims only to "draw out" some supposed inherent powers or talents. But, as we have already seen, these native powers, deprived of all the materials upon which to exert themselves, are not merely useless but are in a high degree dangerous and pernicious. Ignorance is comparatively safe. It is error that does the mischief, and the stronger the reasoning faculties working upon meager materials the more misleading and disastrous the erroneous conclusions thus drawn are for mankind.

Of course the great desideratum is to supply the data for thinking, and to supply them to all mankind and not merely to a handful of the élite, but the problem is how to do this. Truth is unattractive. Error charms. It holds out all

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manner of false hopes. It is a siren song that lures frail mariners upon desert isles, where with nothing to nourish the soul they perish and leave their bones to bleach upon the barren sand. All the shores of the great ocean of time are strewn with these whitened skeletons of misguided thought. Truth furnishes the only real hope. It is truth that should be made attractive, alluring, contagious, to such a degree that it shall penetrate the whole mass of mankind, crowding out and replacing the error that now fills the world.

It is recognized by all who accept the ideological interpretation of history, which, as we have seen, does not conflict with the economic interpretation, that world ideas are what determine and control human action; that action therefore depends upon the nature of these ideas. The principal quality of ideas as affecting action is the relative amount of truth and error that they embody. As we have seen, early ideas consist chiefly of error, and we have enumerated some of the consequences of this error. All progress in ideas has consisted in the gradual elimination of the error and substitution of truth. The several steps in religious ideas, from fetishism to monotheism, have been in this direction. All heresies have been attempts to get rid of some small part of the error of the orthodox type of beliefs. The Protestant Reformation was another such a step.

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The deism of Voltaire and Thomas Paine was still another. Although these steps may seem small to the fully emancipated, still they represent progress. It is characteristic of the human mind to take short steps. Few are capable of throwing off all error at once as a snake casts its skin. A part must be clung to and cherished a while longer. In this respect, speaking generally, the peoples of the north of Europe differ from those of the south. The former are satisfied with the surrender of a part, while the latter cling to the whole until they can hold it no longer and pass by a single leap from complete orthodoxy to complete freedom of religious thought. This is the true reason why the Reformation never could gain a foothold among the Latin races, and not, as some suppose, because the latter are naturally more superstitious. There are many liberal minds among the Latin races, but there are few Protestants.

Error believed with sufficient force to determine action is retrogressive in its effects. The progressive character of any age depends upon the amount of truth embodied in its philosophy, *i.e.*, in its world views. The natural tendency of truth is to cause progressive action. In other words, the dynamic quality of human ideas is strictly proportional to the degree to which they harmonize with objective reality. It follows that all the progress that has taken place in the

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world as the result of human thought has been due to the truth that has been brought to light. This accounts for the relatively small amount of human progress that is due to this cause. The greater part, as shown in *Pure Sociology*, Chapter XI, has been of the purely unconscious, genetic sort, with which ideas have nothing to do. But most of the progress due to ideas is of that superficial kind which merely produces material civilization through the conquest of nature, and does not penetrate to the lower strata of society at all. This is because the truth is possessed by only a minute fraction of society. It therefore has great economic value but very little social value. What the progress of the world would be if all this truth were socially appropriated no one can foresee, but its effect would probably be proportional to the number possessing it.

As great truths are simple so was his great nature. He was like a child in his delight in simple amusements; more than modest when in the company of those who knew less than he; kindly in teaching and ready to admire anything worthy said or done by another; so unassuming and unpretentious that a stranger would never know the giant-intellect they

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were in the presence of unless something happened to call it out; few ever guessed the tremendous passion and feeling that was hidden beneath his calm and silent exterior. World renowned as he is to-day among thinkers, the time will come, I think, when the mass of people of the earth will know him and speak with keen and sincere admiration of the man whose great desire was to give his strength and knowledge to making life happier for all humanity.

As a philosopher he did not believe in personal immortality, but often spoke of the "immortality of deeds," and would say: "The real immortality is the immortality of achievement."

CHAPTER IV
PARAGRAPHS FROM UNPUBLISHED PAGES

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DEAN VEDITZ, of the George Washington University, wrote the following words for the Washington papers after the death of Lester F. Ward:

His death marks the disappearance of a scientist who will unquestionably rank as one of the half dozen greatest thinkers in his field that the world has produced.

His work and power as a thinker are so well known or at least so well revealed in his books, that I need not endeavor so much to present this side of his character as to give the less well-known emotional or feeling side which he showed only to the few.

In no way could I bring closer to the minds who now, or in the future, may feel akin to

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this great man, than to give paragraphs from his letters in which he wrote of his personal feelings and thoughts. His letters show keen and tender feelings on many subjects.

The idea of Emancipation was one to which he often returned. In his hundreds of letters it was discussed from many points of view. In a letter of "January 9th, 9 P.M. 1910," he writes:

I claim to be emancipated wholly above and independent of the conventional restraint that enslaves other men almost as completely as it does the savage.

On Inhibition he wrote:

June 6-1910: That is a quality I have always cultivated in myself. To it I attribute most of my success (I mean quantity of work). I teach that genius consists of intellect plus character. *Character is made up of all the moral qualities*, and inhibition is the one perhaps most essential to genius. Only pathologic genius (prodigies) can do things by spurts.

On the question of sex he was honest and sincere in his expressions of contempt for

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“mere animal existence”: In a letter of June 9, 1910, he says:

I have a profound contempt for that life of mere animal existence which does not reflect on the glories of love, but takes them as simple passing waves to be satisfied if possible and gotten rid of as early as possible as something rather bad in themselves. It is part of that slavery to function which belongs to a pain economy. I sometimes have this thought come over me, hard to express, but great: I imagine that there was not and never had been any taboos on love or sex, or the body or the great organs of reproduction, and that all the feelings from that source were looked upon the same as those from sight or sound (art, music), over which cultivated people so rave, although they do not yield a tithe of the joy that comes from love. Imagine the whole enlightened, cultivated, reflecting, thinking world thus freed from this incubus of the sex taboo, what a glorious thing this great source of joy would be! . . . (one) emancipated from the slavery to function can look upon life (the “phylogenetic forces”) as we look upon art, duty, thought (the “sociogenetic forces”) as not only “life mitigating” forces or “forces of race elevation” (*Outlines*, 155), but as truly æsthetic forces and the most effective of all sources of happiness.

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In the same letter he speaks thus of flowers:

I love peonies when they are not too much doubled up. I hate "double" flowers. They are not natural. The sexual organs are destroyed. The stamens and pistils are converted into petals, that is, the sexual organs are converted into protective organs with nothing to protect. They are monstrosities, not of nature, but of human art. They are deformities. I love the little wild roses better than all the Marshal Niels and Jacqueminots.

He spoke one day about the beauty of minds sharing harmonious thoughts and ideas, and, writing about it a little later, he mentioned how ideas sometimes affected him while speaking in public: "I think I have mentioned to you how great ideas affect me. 'Affect' in two senses. Sometimes, I nearly break down under the power of a great idea." (Aug., 1910.)

Once in a letter to him I spoke of "statical work." He replied:

How interestingly you wrote about "static work!" How much I think of that! It belongs

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to mediocre people, but superior people so often do little else. *Dynamic work never earns money* (or rarely). I have had to do so much statical work to live. And how appropriate to mention George Eliot in that connection! It was she who spoke of "a life apart from circumstantial things."

In expressing the intense joy he felt in having a friend who saw life exactly as he did, he wrote (Sept. 7, 1910):

Ah! the "palatial halls." They are the great thoughts, the "between the lines," the esoteric philosophy. Life in the empyrean. Mind threads, esthetic glories undreamed of by artists,—thought and love.

A poem written at "Trinity Lake," near Stamford, Conn., and sent to him, called *Song of the Woods* brought forth this response:

Sept. 27, 1910: You do love poor old humanity. I do too, but only on account of its possibilities. In its present state it is altogether unlovely, but like you, I look a millennium ahead. How many have done that! Think of Condorcet and his faith in the future! But like all the rest, he put it too early. I say a millennium. Better say ten

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millenniums. All the races of men must first be blended into one race. The whole planet must be under one vast administration. All the superstitions (religions) must have disappeared. All mankind must be in possession of all knowledge. Only think how long all that will take! But not so long as it took to develop the horse. Not so long as it has taken to make man what he is from a Pithecanthropus, a Neanderthal man, or perhaps even a Robenhausen man. The possibilities of evolution are so immense, as Mrs. Stetson (Gilman's) poem so beautifully shows.

And again on Sept. 29th:

What a number of kinds of things I have done in my life! How many different rôles I have had to play! It has truly been a "checkered" life. About poor old, or rather young, infantile humanity: *we who are of age, mature, out of swaddling clothes*, we need not think we must wait all that enormous period that it is going to take for the world to get its growth.

He enthused over great friendships and felt the necessity of having thoughts together. He once wrote:

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Sept. 30, 1910: I guess I am glad you can think. If you had not been a thinker you would not have cared for me. After all that is the great bond that binds us together, the intellectual world we live together in.

Writing October 3, 1910, of the name chosen for the great volumes which were his last work, and which we worked on for three years steadily, he says:

The name *Glimpses of the Cosmos* occurred to me years ago, and I have an old slip with the name on it, but no date. I do not think I wrote the name for a year or two after I decided upon it, for it was in my mind so long. Many things in my biography are of that kind, long unwritten, I suppose I may be a genius in a sense; so much subconscious work. I explain it as the result of *stocked* (perhaps *overstocked*) mind. I have acquired so much *knowledge* by eternally digging at things, that it is a kind of ferment in my brain, and is constantly cropping out in one shape or another. But . . . there is a quality that I prize more than this kind of acquired genius, and that is my affective nature. I am so affectionate in my nature, a quality that has cost me nothing, that I was born with. I love so intensely. I am like a woman. And just as I have the emo-

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tional side highly developed for a man, so you have the intellectual side highly developed for a woman. That is what makes us so companionable.

Later he writes:

I attribute the warmth of my ideas to that highly emotional nature of mine. I can scarcely utter a great truth without choking with emotion. Am I bragging? I have already said that the emotional side is natural, not acquired like the other, and therefore I am entitled to no credit for possessing it. Still I have always maintained that intellectual development is a condition to true emotional development. Without it the latter is narrow, subjective, inconsistent, and inseparable from egotistic interests.

Speaking of the emotional nature, I may say that it was a joy to him to think he started *Glimpses of the Cosmos* ("our book" he always called it) on my birthday, October 6th. He seemed to weave a poetical and charming delight into the connection of my birth celebration with the birth, so to speak, of his beloved volumes.

He said that few ever seemed able to reach

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down far enough to find the emotional side of his nature. Those who had come nearer to him than others in general were not many, but each one of these had lacked some quality which he had hoped to discover. Thus he worked deeper and deeper into his intellectual work. Even in his family, he once said, they call me "Mr. Ward." It is only Dr. Ross who says "Uncle Lester!" Although he felt the lack of philosophical comprehension, in the very midst of his life, yet he never spoke of it unkindly. He had lived so much alone, emotionally, that it was natural for him to "gloriously live" when he was able to pour out without fear the expression of his great soul.

Once, when walking along the beautiful Lake Mendota, at Madison, Wis., after delivering one of his fine Sociological lectures, I saw tears in his eyes, and I remarked how deeply I had been impressed by the last part of his discourse. It was almost as if the whole class had responded to his solemn and sublime climax. Then he took my hand quietly

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and said: "I could have gone on for another hour, so filled with power was I, and I thrilled at the very thoughts which came rushing to me!"

His whole nature was filled with a certain childlikeness that was delicious. One delightful little incident bespeaks it: when we corresponded we always used both sides of the paper until later we decided to use but one so as to preserve special sentences. In the months we wrote on either side he found one day that I had by mistake slipped over one side of a sheet. He wrote me to be more careful, for he felt he had been cheated out of just a page! Another time when *he* made a similar error he scribbled on the back of the page: "I didn't mean to leave this page blank. It was a mistake. Pardon. A queen can pardon a king."

Once when we were taking a long walk in the outskirts of Providence, R. I., he turned to me and said:

How did you ever dare to touch my emotional nature? How did you ever know I am what I



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am? Because I met you as I do all others, cool and philosophical, calm and undemonstrable. No one seeing me pass on the street would imagine the volume of fire you knew from the first was in my soul!

Feeling was behind all he wrote. As I have said, he never wrote anything "to order." He wrote me on Oct. 5, 1910:

I have never written anything *to order*. The moment that element comes in I am powerless. All that I have ever written has come from within outward.

And, again, he said, Oct. 6, 1910:

It is a question after all of *how to get the maximum pleasure out of life*. You hardly know the satisfaction of working for an end that you can see in the future, I have always seen the volumes of my books on the shelves before they were written. I see those of the *Glimpses* now. It is a joy. "The instinct of Workmanship" (Veb-len). How that phrase did please me! I love to work. It has been the chief source of all my happiness in life. It yields the intellectual pleasure as domestic life does the emotional.

On "October 7, 1910, Friday morning," the day after my birthday, he had been

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looking into his diary of the year 1865, and he mentions his first wife Lizzie, of whose charming traits he had told me, so tender and sweet, and whose youthful enthusiasm and earnest interest in his work drew them so closely together; he quotes:

I have looked up my diary [he writes] and see what I did on Oct. 6, 1865, . . . I was 25 the preceding June. Lizzie and I were reading "Latin" (Virgil I think). I was (at that time) reading Greek and bought a Greek Testament that day. I attended the Concordia Lyceum that evening and "debated the merits of literary criticism."

On October 28th he had been writing of the human race and so he says in a letter:

Those two correlative principles,—the blood bond and the race hatred—have worked all results. The latter results in the race struggle which produced all the great secondary institutions.

On October 30, 1910, he writes:

That year 1869 . . . was a wonderful year in my life. It saw me take my A.B. degree and begin my course in law; it saw the *Dynamic*

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Sociology begun; it saw the *Iconoclast* started, and I find that I was really writing about all the time before I began the *Dynamic Sociology*. I have before me quite a series of unpublished manuscripts that I wrote in the first half of 1869. I made only one effort to publish any of them, and that failed. One of these is entitled *Common Sense versus Theology* in five chapters, begun on January 23d and finished on February 25th: Another is entitled *Reason*, six pages of foolscap, written March 11-14th. Another is called *Signs of the Times*, and contains twenty-six pages of foolscap, written from March 31st to May 11th. Then my graduation oration on *The Invention of Printing*, written May 14th to June 22d, and committed to memory and delivered without anything before me.

Scarcely a day passed that I did not write something. I have read parts of these essays. . . . They would do to print now. The one on *Signs of the Times* is profound and philosophical. . . . I had no thought of publishing them. I just wrote, as Nietzsche says, "to get rid of my thoughts." But I could not get rid of them. They crowded upon me, and on April 13, I say in my diary: "I drew up a rough plan for the book I am going to write. I'm bound to commence it this summer." In the French journal that I kept that year and wrote up every Sunday for the preceding week, I say

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under that same date: "J'ai fait quelques notes pour arranger quelque plan pour un livre que je suis déterminé de commencer sérieusement sur mon jour de naissance prochain. J'ai beaucoup de pensées, pourquoi les garder?" The French isn't good, but it shows what was in me. On June 18th I wrote: "According to my resolution, I commenced my book. Wrote two pages foolscap" today. Of course that "Introduction" that I began that day and finished Oct. 1st, was never used, but I have it. I began the book proper, writing on the note-paper that I showed you, on Nov. 15th, and the first chapter I wrote was the one that is now Chapter IX, and which I called "Utility" then.

It is such "notes," and quotations from these letters that bring one close to Dr. Ward's real nature, and one can readily perceive what a great mistake was committed when such a long record of his years, carefully kept in detail day after day and month after month in his diaries, was totally and ignorantly burned!

I have read the "early manuscripts" he refers to and find them filled with ideas which to-day would be new or refreshing to a large number of people.

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He was methodical to the extreme. He felt the necessity of method, if anything worth while was to be accomplished. Every idea expressed, every quotation copied, every letter of importance received, every book and marked subjects in the book, all details, in fact, were indexed and then cross-indexed, so that he could turn in a moment to anything he desired to use in his work.

He left a large, valuable, and thoroughly interesting ledger, filled with quotations in different languages, all carefully indexed, ready for instant use. He was naturally a lover of languages. He knew well French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, and something even of the Chinese and Japanese languages.

I had made some study of Sanscrit, and when we were discussing words and their roots he would sometimes say to me: "Go to the 'Mother language' and tell me all you can of such and such a word." One word, sacred to the Hindus, we had much joy in studying; the word *AUM*, because he found the beauty

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of the great Cosmos in it, and a sense of Oneness, an idea he meant to expound in a book, "the last one of his system of philosophy," as he said. He thought of calling it: "Continuity."

One day in a walk about Providence, R. I., we stopped on a high point overlooking the city, and I jokingly remarked: "What a wicked city Providence must be to need so many churches!" He was silent a moment and then said: "The day will come when every church spire will loom up as a center of education. Every bit of knowledge shall be offered to all, and we may call them 'Halls of Science.'"

When we were working together on *Glimpses of the Cosmos* in 1910, he wrote, Oct. 31st:

I am going on with the history of *Dynamic Sociology* and am now in 1870. I certainly am astonished at my industry that year too. I was studying law and had to get long lessons in that. I was editing the *Iconoclast* and had to write all those articles and search for matter for that, and yet there are few days that I did not

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write several pages in *Dynamic Sociology*. Remember that I worked at my desk from 9 till 4 every day, and we kept house and I had classes in Latin, German, and French! Where could I have got the time? But I got up every morning at 5.30 and often wrote or studied before breakfast.

In the same letter, in regard to something I had written to him on "Silence," he says:

What a lovely thing that is you wrote about "Silence." You must find spots in your stories and books to weave in such great literary gems. That was the charm of Victor Hugo to me. He devoted half his space to grand soliloquies and eloquent apostrophes. I call this of yours the Apotheosis of Silence.

On "Sunday noon, Nov., 1910," he writes:

I am reading diaries again and have got through with 1871. I was then writing what I called Vol. II. I had given my book no name yet, but I find an old memorandum, jotted down in April, 1869, with the heading "Plan of the Great Panacea."¹ I will show it to you when you come again. It gives a table of contents of 8 "Books," each with several chapters, and three

¹ Now in John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I., in the "Ward Room."

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"Books" not numbered. The chapters are named. It relates almost entirely to education, but education means knowledge always. Then there is another memorandum, not dated, but doubtless written before I commenced writing the book, and which deals with the logical arrangement of the subjects. It enumerates four "logical arguments," and is the forerunner of the final arrangement at the end of Chapter VIII. There are foreshadowed the chapters on Utility (IX), Progress (X), Action (XI), Opinions (XII), and Education (XIV), but, the chapter on knowledge (XIII) is not early shown. Much is said about "circumstances" and I really had to come back to this in Applied Sociology (Opportunity). Now I find in reading the diaries that I did take these subjects up in this order and wrote a chapter on circumstances, between the one on progress and the one on opinions. The chapter on actions followed the one on opinions, instead of preceding it. All this I called Volume I of the book, and the chapter on Education was the first of Volume II. I was still writing that at the end of 1871. You saw the big manuscript of it that was never published. Then you know there was to be another chapter which was begun and never finished. It was called "Melioration," I think.¹ I do not find it, and I think you took it.

¹ The title is *Meliorism*; I returned it. It is now at Providence in the "Ward Room."

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If so you need not return it unless I ask you to. Perhaps you can bring it.

We were talking one day of the power of a knowledge of Evolution. Soon afterwards the following came in a letter:

November 7, 1910. You say I am conservative in my lectures to my classes. Of course I must be. But I find no difficulty in it. I put such interpretations on all the old things that they do not conflict with the truths of science. I have recently been discussing the location of the *Garden of Eden* and of the sons of Noah in connection with the peopling of the earth and the formation of human races, and it all fits in well with the latest theories. So with all the old cosmogonies. I make them tally perfectly with science. There is one principle that I have formulated which does the most of it. I call it "the personification of evolutionary processes." Nothing was known of evolution till the 19th century. When men saw that things were different in their own time from what tradition told them they had once been, their only explanation was that some great man, demi-god, or god, had arisen and changed it all. Every race has a particular man who gave it a marriage system. Cadmus gave Greece its alphabet. Prometheus gave fire to the world.

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We know that neither Solon nor Lycurgus made any laws. They only codified the laws that had grown up in Athens and Sparta. And so with the rest. The Noachian deluge (and all races have a story of a deluge) is the geographical history of the earth as the land rose out of the sea. The Garden of Eden is the region where the human race originated, and the expulsion from it is the dispersion of mankind. The Book of Genesis (borrowed from far older cosmogonies) is the ontogenetic recapitulation of the phylogenetic evolution of the universe. . . . In the third term I deal with the origin and development of all primary institutions—Religion, Morality, Philosophy, Language. I have no trouble with any of them, and the class is always specially pleased with my treatment of religion. At the close I usually say something about the future of religion and even of the church, and combat the view that religion will pass away and be merged in ethics. It has a grand mission of its own: *As it began in awe and fear of nature, it will end in awe and love of nature.*

I have often heard those who have read Lester Ward's books assert that he was "a rank materialist," and yet he was a truly spiritual man. We often talked of the various effects of *prayer*, and he always explained that

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he never denied its effects. He wrote me once:

Sunday morning, 9:30, Nov. 13, 1910: I must offer my morning prayer before I go to work. I believe in the efficacy of prayer. One of my students lately asked me if I did and I told him yes. I can work better for it. Do you remember how poor *Comte* went regularly to the tomb of Clothilde to pray?"

The words "poor Comte" might be misinterpreted by some. Ward never felt that Comte was to be pitied on account of his love and admiration for Clothilde. He rather felt it was a pity that a great man like Auguste Comte had not found in Clothilde a woman who would have been able more perfectly to fulfill his life.¹

Once I used the word "intellectual" instead of "psychic." He wrote, Jan. 29, 1911:

I say psychic instead of intellectual, because it embraces the whole of mind. The feelings

¹ When speaking of prayer Dr. Ward never meant that he prayed to any God, but the sense of aspiration, and thoughts voluntarily made toward Truth and Beauty strengthened man's finer character.

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and emotions are psychic as well as the intellect. A true psychic Heaven includes all Heights and Depths. There is a constant circulation from one pole to the other, and the whole sphere of existence is filled with every kind of radiation perpetually mingling in a glorious ethereal atmosphere of thought and feeling.¹

Again, something I wrote attracted him, and he says Feb. 1, 1911:

What a fine *new* expression "The Great Dome of Life"! Ah! you are an artist in expression. It gives an instantaneous picture of our Psychic Heaven.

On Wednesday evening, March 8, 1911, he wrote about a poem I had written and sent to him. In it were some scientific references. He remarks:

You seem so to love my scientific way of illustrating things that most people would consider cold. It is because they do not understand

¹One day writing to him in a poetical strain about the charm of minds thinking together, I said: "and we will float together on sunset wings of fairy thought." This pleased him so that he sent a long letter and said: "life should have far more 'sunset wings of fairy thought,' the mingling of great thoughts and great feelings."

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that science, i.e., the real and true, has all the warmth of life.

On Sunday evening, March 12, 1911, he wrote in regard to some questions I asked him about his childhood days:

What a lot of questions you ask about my childhood! Sometime I may tell you a lot of things about it when we are together. It seems so unimportant to me. Not worth the effort to write. How readers of books do want personal things about the authors! One of the ladies in my 11-20 class came in the other morning all in a glow and came up to me before the lecture and said she had been reading in *Pure Sociology*, how I used to gather and name the flowers (pp.189-190), and of our calling the yellow puccoon the "sweet-john" amused her immensely. Yes, I did know the sheep all apart and named them. I remember some of their names now. How well I remember the lambs. We were greatly interested in the early Spanish conquests in America, and three of the lambs were promptly named Pedro, Pizzaro, and Cortes! How Pedro would shake his tail when I fed him his milk! How silly it all is! Yes, my brother told me which room I was born in, and I have stated it in a note descriptive of the photograph which forms the frontispiece of the Biography scrap-book.

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He enjoyed long walks, and in the woods would follow certain directions to discover the geological strata he so liked to study.

On "Sunday, June 4, 1911, 1 P.M."—he wrote from Providence:

I am in the woods again. I could not resist this beautiful morning. My chair is the soft rich mold with a rock at my back and a friendly little oak shading me from the sun's rays. I am off in the north section close to the city line beyond the Wanskuck and Geneva mills. I am trying to follow the boundary between the Cambrian and the Carboniferous rocks. My route will now be south west and I may come out near where I did last Monday.

After a stay at my country home for several weeks he sailed for Europe to attend the great Monist Congress in Hamburg; and on Monday evening Aug. 21, 1911, he writes of the splendid weather he is enjoying, the beautiful sunset, and then adds:

I have had one thought today, totally disconnected with anything in the situation. I have no idea how it arose. Just for novelty I will tell you what it was. Something or nothing set me to

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thinking about cycads, and about how the fossil ones must have looked at the time they were growing. The landscape of that period rose before my mental vision. I have often had this occur, and once or twice I have briefly described it in my papers. Once I know in a paper entitled *Recent Discoveries of Fossil Cycadean Trunks in the Iron Ore Beds of Maryland*. I think you have it, for I have many copies left. Now you know that I have lantern slides of many ideal landscapes of past ages, and what I thought was what a splendid ideal landscape *you* could paint or picture, having seen the cycads at Yale and the living ones at Bronx. You could represent a Sequoian forest with an undergrowth of cycads. We could make a slide of it and put it with my collection!

And again, August 29th, writing from Christiania he says:

The old Viking Ship is most interesting. It was found in a tumulus or buried mound on the Fjord. The chief to whom it belonged was evidently buried in his ship. Other relics found with it fix the date in the 9th Century, so it had lain there a thousand years. It was embedded in clay, which preserved the wood from decaying. Clay is a wonderful preservative. All the best fossils are found in clay. Sand, however fine,

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fails to preserve them, because the oxygen of the silica is disengaged and erodes them.

Speaking of the meetings of the *Monists*, he says:

There is activity at the University today, the street in front is decorated with flags and greens. The students have some doings tomorrow, and Monday the festivities begin. I shall stay to those of Tuesday and Wednesday, and leave for Hamburg Thursday morning.

Of Christiania he writes on September 3, 1911:

I presume I know it and its environs better than most of those who live here. I have looked into every nook and corner and been to many places not mentioned in the guide books. It gives me a glimpse of Scandinavia, and is about all I shall see. I shall probably stay one night in Copenhagen, but shall not see much of it as I leave for Hamburg in the morning. Yesterday I went to Bygd again and had an enjoyable afternoon there. The other time I saw only the east side and central portion, but the west side is the finest. The shores are bold and rocky, and all the rocks are wonderfully scratched and grooved by glacial action. I never before saw glacial

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stræ on such a scale. I lay down on them and rested for an hour.

From the "Hotel de l'Europe, Hamburg, Saturday, Sept. 9, 6 P.M.," he writes:

I feel guilty of postponing my atoll¹ so long, but really I have not had a moment's time for anything. I came from Christiania here Thursday and Friday, riding all night Thursday night and arriving here at 10 o'clock yesterday morning. It took all day to find things and get settled. Haeckel is not here but we are all going in a body to Jena to see him. Today I have been out to Hagenbeck's Thiergarten at Stillingen, about sixteen miles from the centre of the city. There was a big Mittagessen there, but I took a good look at the animals, which are fine. To-night we have the first public meeting with addresses by Ostwald and others. Haeckel is down for an address. He has probably sent it and it will be read. I must tell you a little about the pilgrimage to Jena. We went on Tuesday and returned yesterday. There was a torchlight procession nearly a quarter of a mile long past his (Haeckel's) villa Tuesday evening and he spoke a few words from a high balcony. Yesterday morning a small deputation waited on him, about twenty, and I was made the first to address him.

¹ Atoll was the word he applied to our letters.—E. P. C.

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I did not make any speech, but referred to my championing of his views long ago; he then, of his own accord mentioned our only meeting on top of the Uitleberg, near Zurich, in 1894, seventeen years ago. I said I wondered whether he remembered it, and that I should never forget it. He referred to my books and specially mentioned the *Dynamic Sociology*.

Thursday Evening (Hamburg), September 14, 1911. I want now to give you a little idea of this Congress of Monists. The astounding thing is its popularity and every word said was listened to and applauded to the echo. One would think that all Germany had turned monists. As I was only an invited guest I took no part in the proceedings, but the first night at the "Begrüssung" I was urged to speak, but declined. The speeches were all merely addresses of welcome of the most popular sort, and any statement of principles would have been wholly out of place. The regular meetings had their programs all arranged, and there was no chance for outsiders. Wakeman tried to get them to give me twenty minutes, but they could not, and I was glad, for I did not want to make a speech in English, when nearly all the rest were German. Wakeman's, as I told you, was very short and in German, but he had an expansion of it printed the next day. There was a man here named Morton, who is the one that read the poem at the Sunrise Club, and

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who represents a lot of free-thinking societies, including Esperanto. He had unlimited confidence and made a speech one evening. He is a rather bright fellow. I did not attend the meetings of delegates, although invited to, but on Friday they elected me an "Ehrenpresident" of the Congress, along with four others, one of whom was Carus, who was here and spoke at the Begrüssung. I had some talks with him later, but he did not appear on any of the programs. Besides the public meetings which were very long, they had a whole series of characteristic German entertainments at great restaurants, with a dinner in the middle of the day and a "Festtafel" in the evening. I took most of it in, but the crowds were so great that it was hard for those acquainted to find each other. But I kept making new acquaintances, some of whom will be valuable. I was generally given a place of honor at the feasts. The courses are interrupted by speeches all the way through the meal. Whenever I could decently get away I went off looking at the city, down to the Elbe and along the great docks either in the boats that constantly run, or on foot. One day the whole party visited the docks on the left bank, where they are building a ship that will rival the *Olympic*, and we were brought up alongside of the immense *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*, and allowed to go aboard her. I believe she sailed

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day before yesterday. Well, in this way the four days were got through with. The speaking was almost entirely declamation and general discussion. The only two scientific papers were those of Jacques Loeb on Life, and Arrhenius on the Universe. These were both illustrated, the former by charts, the latter by lantern views. The Congress closed on Monday night, but a very large number took the 9-45 train Tuesday morning for Jena to see Haeckel. I left everything in my room and returned to it late last night. We reached Jena at half past six. I was assigned a room in a first class hotel. I got a chance to join a small group before dark, one of whom knew everything about Jena and explained to the rest, and to go around and see the principal places of interest. One of these was the great Zeiss optical instrument factory, of which I sent you a picture. Jena is a beautiful place, and there is a park along the banks of the Saale, which is charming. At eight o'clock we all joined a torchlight procession and marched past Haeckel's villa . . . Jena simply adores Haeckel. Everything, everywhere is Haeckel, Haeckel, Haeckel! And it almost seems as if all Germany shared the spirit. I really believe he is the most popular man in Germany.

Toward the end of our work on *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, I began to urge him to write

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one more book to serve, as it were, as a capstone to his System of Philosophy. He was interested in the idea, especially from the viewpoint of religion. He said that the necessity of some religion, some expression of man's inner feelings and thoughts, would always be necessary. Monday noon, September 18, 1911, he wrote:

I have been thinking a good deal about the book you so much want me to write when the *Glimpses* are done. The great popularity of Monism in Europe has led me to think that I might call the book by that name. They mean by it the same as I do by Continuity, and that would not attract attention. One night in Hamburg this thought came over me so strongly that I got up at four o'clock and wrote it down. This is the title I wrote, *Monism the True Quietism*, or the Continuity of Nature the only Faith that can satisfy the emancipated Soul.

Before Dr. Ward sailed for Europe I asked him if he cared to borrow my copy of Weininger's *Sex and Character*? He replied that he did not care to borrow my English translation, but would some time try to own a

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copy in the original German. So I had the pleasure of giving him a copy in German to take with him. He was impressed with the book and wrote me several times in regard to Weininger's theory. On October 11th, returning on the *Romanic* from Naples, he finished the volume. He writes me:

I must tell you that last night at 10.30, reading in the smoking-room, I at last finished Weininger's *Geschlecht und Character*. I began it on the *Helig Olaf* about half way over. I read a good deal in Christiania, in Freiburg, and in Naples, but I read slowly and looked over the notes at the end with great care. They are splendid. He works as I do, carefully, exactly, honestly, making his references full, exact and with appropriate comments. I like his literary style immensely. His chapter on the Jews is particularly interesting, as he says he is of Jewish descent, and yet he scores them mercilessly, without being at all anti-Semitic. His standpoint is high and noble, and so thoroughly objective and judicial. He was really a Christian, a converted Jew, but his ideas on religion are highly philosophical. One cannot help admiring the *man*. In his final chapter he "flats out" completely, and proves himself a confirmed mystic. He

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takes Tolstoi's view that all intercourse between the sexes is sinful, that the "Koitus" is the great, the original, the only sin, and brought on the "fall of man." Schopenhauer showed this to be the true meaning of the story of Adam's fall in Genesis, and I have never doubted it, but it shows how superficial is our popular teaching of the Bible, for until I read this in Schopenhauer I never thought of such an interpretation. I do not believe one in a million understands it. The interesting part of this treatment by Weininger, as by Tolstoi, is to see how he meets the fact that complete chastity would bring the race to an end. The two mystics practically agree on this point, that that is no concern of ours. The Old and New Testaments both teach it, Christ gives much countenance to it. St. Paul distinctly advocates it, and most of the Fathers of the Church, Origen, St. Augustine, Tertullian, loudly proclaim and demand it. Weininger truly says that people never love for the purpose of continuing the race, and also that *those who really are chaste never feel guilty of neglecting their duty to posterity!* that no one ever feels that he is in duty bound to propagate the race. All this is true. Nature is greater than man, and has arranged for the preservation of the species and of the human race "durch Hunger and durch Liebe." I am the only one who has fully worked out the philosophy of life on scientific principles, shown what

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feeling (pleasure and pain) means, and explained on biological principles the "origin of evil" and of good, too; in fact put ethics on a sound scientific basis. Without this I do not wonder that thinking minds go wild and run to mysticism. It is to them all a great mystery, enigma, and *Verhängnis*. How grand the philosophy of science is compared with all metaphysical speculations of the world! I do not wonder that those who once clearly grasp these truths feel regenerated, and put at last on the true road to correct living. They see for the first time what they are and why they are here, as well as what they ought to do.

Of Lecky's *History of European Morals* he writes, October 14, 1911:

I do not generally agree with his conclusions, and when he argues it is what Emerson called "mush of concessions." His first chapter on *The Natural History of Morals* is mainly argumentative and a defense of what he calls the "intuitional" theory, intuition, without reasoning about it. But he misses the truth from ignorance of biology and anthropology, and has no clear idea of causation. I am now reading the second chapter on *Pagan Morals*, which is purely historical and very interesting. It deals with Greek and Roman philosophy, especially with

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Epicureanism and Stoicism. Its great value to me is the immense number of quotations from the classic writers of antiquity. What a wonderful reader he must have been, and such a scholar. Another case of great learning as distinguished from knowledge.

Again, on October 15th, 2.30 P.M., writing "up on the upper deck among the life-boats, but in the bright sunshine," he says: "The book (Lecky's) is not a history of Morals at all, but the history of Religion."

I have already spoken of the assistance I was able to render him in sending mottoes for the different volumes of *Glimpses of the Cosmos*. On February 28, 1912, he wrote:

I would love to have some from Browning, Emerson, and the Hindoo, or from the great Vedic literature. There is one Indian saying that I have always wanted to quote but cannot find that I have ever done so. I have only met with it in Schopenhauer. He quotes it twice in German and both times simply says it is an Indian proverb. In German it is: "*Kein Lotus ohne Stengel*." In English it would be: "No Lotus without a stem." The beautiful flower lies on the water like a water lily, and the observer sees

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no stem, but a small, often very long, peduncle extends to the bottom of the water, however deep, and connects it with the great root mass buried deeply in the ooze. The proverb typifies the great law of causation. Everything is genetically connected with some antecedent cause out of which it grows and without which it could not exist. It may be said to be the essence of the whole idea of *continuity*, and perhaps I had better reserve it for the key note of my book on continuity. But I want to find where it occurs, in what book or work. I might even give the Sanscrit, but must also translate it.

Dr. Ward had a sincere and pure desire to have the world develop higher sex-ideas. In reading his books, one may easily find many passages that suggest fine and noble thoughts on this subject. On Wednesday morning, March 27, 1912, he begins a letter with a reference to this subject:

I am just back from chapel. A man, Dr. F. M. Seerly, from Springfield, Mass., a psychologist who is specializing on sex hygiene, and will lecture to the boys on that subject this afternoon, spoke fifteen minutes in chapel, and said some splendid things. He said the world is devoting

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all its professional energies to problems of nutrition (pure food, etc.) and neglecting the great problem of reproduction. It is how to preserve the individual, never how to continue the race. He spoke of a new text book on physiology for the schools in which there is an *appendix* on sexual physiology; and said the publisher apologized for it, and said it might be omitted whenever that was thought desirable. That which is the most fundamental and important relegated to a fine-print appendix and apologized for! He said our knowledge of the individual body was exhaustively furnished by the great experts in science, while all the knowledge anyone can get of the great laws of reproduction comes from priests and writers of fiction and contains no science.

He writes, "Thursday morning, April 18, 1912":

Your letter of yesterday written in the midst of work about the place, came all right. I was struck with the remark that you took two hours to work on H. & D.¹ How much that means to me. Do you remember George Eliot's phrase that I so often repeat? "A life apart from circumstantial things." How hard it is to realize!

¹ *Heights and Depths*, the novel referred to on page 55. I dedicated it to L. F. W.

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Very few do. Almost everybody allows "circumstantial things" to dominate him completely. Many persons of talent never *do* anything because they have not the power to cut loose from the immediate environment. It requires discipline. It means character, which I maintain is an essential part of genius.

And then he goes on in the same thought:

I regard it as simply clear mental vision, which scarcely anybody has. It is the power to distinguish the great from the small, the important from the trivial. But it is also philosophy. You remember La Rochefoucauld's maxim: "Philosophy triumphs over the past and the future, but the present triumphs over it."

The study of the *Matriarchal period* in the evolution of humanity was always of greatest interest to him. *Das Mutterrecht* of Bachofen and *La Mère* of Girard Toulon he read aloud, and often he would break off from the reading to enlarge and follow out details of thought that kept flashing through his brain. In a letter of May 8, 1912, he writes:

You ask how long the matriarchal period was. It began with the human race, for all animals are

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in the matriarchal state, and must have been till man discovered paternity. That differs with different races. Some have not discovered it yet. (Australians). But taking the line of the historical races, matriarchy seems to have lasted till about the 13th century before Christ. The Androcratic period has therefore only lasted about 3300 years, call it 4000, maximum. As the human race is supposed to have existed 300,000 years, the matriarchal period was 296,000 Years!

The following from a letter of October 28, 1912, may be quoted, since few perhaps have read *Bachofen*:

The main thought that forces itself upon us as we reach such a book as Bachofen's is that in those ancient times, instead of war, politics, industry, business, and the various subjects that now absorb the attention of mankind, their entire attention was concentrated upon *domestic* affairs, upon the relations of the sexes, relationship, kinship, and such internal, personal matters. The relations of the sexes in particular engrossed their energies, and all strifes and wars grew out of these instead of the lust for power, or even race hostility. The reproductive forces play a far greater rôle in prehistoric than in historic

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man. How little such matters have to do with modern wars or with politics! They were the sole motor to action. If they could have written that would have been all they would have written about, and the traditions they left all relate to that. Have you ever thought about this? And is it not so? The great parties, one might almost call them political, dealt with such questions as marriage or no marriage, mother rule or father rule. Each had its leaders, both male and female, both divine and human. Neptune and Vulcan, Venus and Diana stood for sexual freedom, while Hercules and Apollo, Minerva and Juno strove to regulate the sexes and establish marriage. The parties of gynæcocracy and androcracy were drawn on nearly the same lines. And they fought it out on these lines in a great political campaign that antedated the dawn of history.

On November 10, 1912, he writes:

. . . I read a good deal in Bachofen. I have much other new reading matter but none of it interests me as much as Bachofen. I have been reading his long account of the early people of the Island of Lesbos, which was typically matriarchal, and produced the wonderful poetess Sappho. He dwells at great length on Sappho and it is a long and interesting eulogy of her.

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He defends her against all her maligners, and holds her up as the most wonderful character of antiquity. It seems that there is extant a long treatment of her by Socrates, who also praises her and defends her. I would like to get that and sometime read it with you. Of course Plato did the writing, but it is what Socrates said. Sappho belonged to about the Dionysian stage. She joined thought with love and feeling. Her poems were erotic, but the word erotic is used in the higher sense. I would love to read you some beautiful passages from Bachofen in which he describes it and defends it against the attacks of the purists. He says it is pure, deep, natural and sweet. What vast unexplored fields there are that the common herd know nothing about! I have never read a book, a story, a romance, that I was more interested in than I am in Bachofen. And yet it is history and it is truth. It lets the light into the ancient world, and is edifying in the extreme.

I had written to him about war and its causes, and the healing processes. He replied:

I agree that the love of power and the ambition of rulers have much to do with war. The masses do not want it, but they are so ignorant that they will share the spirit aroused by the leaders, and willingly engage in it. The last number of the *Monistische Jahrhundert* contains the Bulgarian

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king Ferdinand's Manifesto (declaration of war), and it is largely an appeal to religious prejudice. He calls it a "Kampf des Kreuzes gegen den Halbmond."

On January 22, 1913, he mentions an article about him I had been asked to write for a Woman Suffrage Magazine in New York City:

I am glad she was pleased with your article on me. If you get an extra copy of the paper containing it I would be glad to see it. I also return your article. I am sorry she made you write it. I hate aimless praise, ordered and compulsory.¹

Following is the article:

AN APPRECIATION OF LESTER F. WARD

To all who are interested in the development of humanity, in any one or more lines, there is a

¹ Dr. Ward was most emphatic in expressing dislike of "personal praise." He cared little for personal popularity. I begged him to sit for a bust, and also for a portrait in oil. Professor Koopman of John Hay Library, Providence, R. I., also wanted to have a sculptress make a marble bust of him, but Dr. Ward wrote me: "I would have to make many long sittings. I would dread it, and don't believe. I will do it, certainly not very soon . . . and I do not see what I would gain." So unconscious was he of any "personal" interest in himself. It was always what he thought and not his personal self that he felt must necessarily be of interest to the world.

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sense of admiration and gratefulness that comes when contemplating those men and women who have been the forerunners, the search-lights, the leaders for a great truth.

In the days when only a handful of women were trying to spread the idea of freedom for their own sex, and each one was laughed at, scorned, ridiculed, it was a man who had the brains not only to foresee the rights that naturally should belong to woman, but the heart to feel and the character to express his thoughts regarding the justice of giving her the franchise.

It is easy enough to follow a crowd, and when "Votes for Women" becomes a popular and leisure class interest, it does not take very great courage to say you believe in giving the ballot to woman; but when the whole world considered it as absurd, forced, unnatural, ridiculous, bad taste, and even as unsexing womankind, it was necessary to have a few giants of brain and heart arise and tear down the veil of ignorance and prejudice that at that time existed over mostly all minds regarding the woman question.

It was at a banquet held in 1888, in Washington, D.C., where Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Jennie June Croly, Mrs. N. P. Willis and others were all present that Lester F. Ward spoke on the subject of "Sex Equality."

Dr. Ward revealed his ideas through a scientific explanation of the sexes. His writings are so

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well known today, one need not try to even quote from his books, but he showed that the natural evolution of the human race depicted the important position which the female factor had always held.

He closed his address with these words: "There is no fixed rule by which Nature has intended that one sex should excel the other, any more than there is any fixed point beyond which either cannot develop. Nature has no intentions, and evolution has no limits. True science teaches that the elevation of woman is the only sure road to the evolution of man."

Any one who has read Dr. Ward's *Pure Sociology* cannot help but recognize the noble and broad minded position he has always taken towards woman.

The cause of woman lies deeper than any one particular question. It is a law of nature and the development of the true freedom of woman is as necessary to improve the race, as it is that man must ever keep refining, and strengthening his own nature, and the subtle influence of the characters of the mothers of the world will show in the sons that will be the future fathers of the generations to come.

Nowhere could an appreciation of Lester F. Ward be given more honestly than in a Woman's suffrage magazine.

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About January 15, 1913, he began to remark about his health, and from time to time would mention in his letters various feelings which he thought might come from indigestion or from asthma. But growing better he would turn from the subject lightly and refuse to call in a physician. On February 4th, he wrote: "The worst is the weakness and shortness of breath."

Though having bad spells and hard days or nights, he would work, work, work, and his brain was as keen as ever. After a letter of mine on Finot, and his doctrine of races, he says:

I have read something of Finot. I think he attended the race-congress and ventilated his views there. There are some qualifications of course, but the general idea of superior and inferior races is being abandoned. The great difference lies in the equipment. It is a general expansion of my egalitarian ideas, and recognition of nurture and environment as the great factors, instead of nature and heredity.

On March 5, 1913, after saying he is feeling better, he tells me of his class work:

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In my class in Applied Sociology I have reached the point where I discuss the "Ways of Improving Society," and classify them first into (1) attempts to improve social conditions directly, and (2) attempts to improve the individual members of society. The first of these ways I leave to politicians and statesmen, and confine myself to the second. But this I also divide up into two radically different methods, viz., (1) attempts to increase the *intellect*, and (2) attempts to increase *intelligence*.

In spite of the illness creeping on, he persisted in lecturing. After giving an address on *Eugenics* in New York and Philadelphia he wrote me:

Fortune favors the brave. It may be a low one, quality, but I believe I have it in a marked degree. I never knew what it was to be afraid. Of course no thanks to me, as I did not even feel the sensation.

On March 25th, he wrote a few lines from Providence saying he felt so badly that he would leave earlier than the regular Easter Holiday. He arrived in New York and went directly to Washington. He lived only a few weeks, passing away on April 18, 1913.

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Lester Ward died as he lived, bravely, and without fear. None more than he has insisted that a greater civilization would evolve if the true knowledge of the world was given to all. "Every member of society is equally the heir to the entire social heritage, and all may possess it without depriving any of any part of it."

Writing of the high place which sociology should hold among the sciences we may well use his same words, in thinking of the noble aims of Lester Ward's life: "The cap-sheaf and crown of any true system of classification of the sciences, and it is also the last and highest landing on the great staircase of education." His aims were indeed the truest and the highest.

CHAPTER V
SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER V

SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY

LESTER F. WARD was not only a true philosopher, and our very greatest sociologist, but besides this his contributions to botany, paleobotany, geology, anthropology, and psychology were numbered in the hundreds.

His idea was that his original studies in many fields were particularly for the foundation he desired in the treatment of Sociology as the crowning science. Philosophy and science, he said, must be ranked as achievements, vast and far-reaching in their consequences.

Dr. Ward lived to see his philosophy triumph in the minds of the leaders of thought. His daring exposition of Nature's methods which he proved were far less advantageous than the so-termed *artificial* method of man.

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His justification of the ways of mind in his *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, published in 1893, gives us the philosophy that lies at the base of many recent developments in schools, governments and the treatment of social problems.

No man ever insisted more rigidly on scientific methods, but none ever believed less in science for its own sake. Ward's idea was always to work out a system of philosophy, and readers can never forget that the purpose of helping mankind is to accelerate social evolution.

Throughout his entire philosophy runs one dominating and organizing thought: the efficacy of conscious effort guided by intelligence. Human society, as we to-day know it, is not the passive product of unconscious forces. It lies within the cosmic law, and so does the mind of man; and this power of mind has knowingly, artfully adapted, and over and over again adapted its social environment. More and more with reflective intelligence man has begun to direct

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it so as to fulfil man's will. This should be carried out by constructive intelligence shaping the material of verified scientific knowledge.

Scientific knowledge must be socialized, the distribution of our intellectual heritage must be bequeathed to all equally. One must not be alone *intellectual*, but *intelligent* in his winning toward the goal of wisdom. Ward significantly showed that the psychic factor is the dominant one in human society. It is the factor which must receive chief attention, so that through it human progress may be artificially and successfully controlled.

Education is the chief instrument through which social progress is to be effected. *Education* is a word used fluently by all manner of men who have any idea regarding uplifting humanity, each has his own interpretation according to his personal viewpoint; but Ward distinctly says over and over again what he means by education, and expressed in many ways the necessity of scientific knowledge of the laws and materials of nature to be made the possession of all man-

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kind. Education must not alone discipline the mind, it must equip it with scientific facts.

"Inequality of intelligence necessarily results in the cleavage of society into an exploiting and an exploited class."

"It is to Knowledge that civilization is due, and the true object of education is to confer knowledge."

"Everything that distinguishes a savage from civilized man can be directly or indirectly traced to the differences of education." In spite of the fact that the consensus of opinion from all men who knew Ward and his works, was, that he was a giant in the intellectual world, an American Aristotle, yet very modestly does he speak of his own contribution toward the solution of social problems. In the preface of *Dynamic Sociology* (p. vii) he says: "That my own contribution was simply a product of the *Zeitgeist* I have never pretended to question."

The request has been made so often by many, not only during the life of Ward to

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him, but since his death, to me, that a short recapitulation of his work and thought should be made. Such a short, concise résumé is suggestive for use in sociological work; and as an inspiration to those not so well acquainted with Ward to seek a deeper reading of his system of philosophy. I have quoted Dr. Ward's works freely in this chapter, and it is with great modesty I offer to others such a tremendous wealth of thought in such a few pages.

In attempting to give a clear idea of what the philosophy of Dr. Ward is, we shall try to turn a searchlight upon the principal facts underlying his contributions.

Nature, he contended, is creative and the principle of creation is synergy: chemical elements, inorganic compounds, organic compounds, protoplasm, plants, animals, man, society. Since these products of nature through evolution are the subject matter of the respective sciences, their order of appearance suggests a natural classification of the sciences. And since evolution is from the

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simple to the complex, and from the general to the special, this classification is practically the same as that of Comte, who based his famous "hierarchy of the sciences" on the principles of increasing complexity and decreasing generality.

Dr. Ward drew up for use in his classes "*A Tabular View of All Knowledge in the Order in which it has been Evolved.*" He had this made into a large Chart six feet square and hung in his classroom. (In *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. VI, p. xix, we read:)

The arrangement is that of the serial classification of the sciences as given in the first two columns of the *Tabular View of All Knowledge*, Vol. V, p. 150, and in the ascending order, but the number of subsiences is considerably increased and made to include certain special subjects on which I have written, and which I have endeavored to class under their appropriate general sciences. I have always maintained that, as this includes all knowledge, there cannot be a subject which is incapable of being placed under some of the heads. The only qualification that this requires is that the subject must relate to real things. The two truly abstract sciences,

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mathematics and logic, which deal with relations only, the first with quantitative, and the second with qualitative relations, are simply norms, and do not fall into any scheme of real things. I have not written on formal logic, though I have discussed it in several of my books, but a few of my papers may be incidentally classed under mathematics. This I place, as did Comte, in front of the whole series. Philosophy may be said to include both quantitative and qualitative relations, but it also covers all other relations, and most of the papers that I class under *philosophy* deal with concrete sciences as well, and the numbers will also be found under these; but I thought best to place all such under the general head of philosophy. As this obviously cannot be brought under any one of the sciences proper, its only place seems to be at the head of the list, and I have so assigned it.

I have not written on any branch of physics, but had had occasion to deal with the great physical laws of the universe. This I call *cosmology*, and put it in the place physics would have occupied. Nothing else needs explaining till the special social sciences are reached, falling under sociology. A few of these not in the table are introduced. Under *philology*, which includes everything relating to language, whether spoken or written, I have placed certain by-products which might seem to belong higher in the list,

Tabular View of all Knowledge in the Order in which it has been Evolved.

Kinds of Knowledge		Subjects of the Sciences Products of Evolution Cosmic Structures	Differential Attributes			
Sciences	Subsciences		Differential Properties Cosmic Functions	Activities Possessed	Phenomena Manifested	Causes Employed
Sociology	Pedagogy	Human Society	Civilization Socialism	Molar	Social	Final or Telic
	Pathology	Knowledge				
	Pathology	Diseases				
	Esthetology	The Fine Arts				
	Nomology (jurisprudence)	Justice				
	Politics Civil- ogy (politics)	The State				
	Ecology (economics)	Wealth, Property				
	Theology	God, Religion				
	Ethology (ethics)	Customs, Conduct				
	Philology	Language				
Psychology	Gamology (sex relations)	The Family	Mind Intellect Feeling Psych- ism		Psychic	Conative
	Ethnology	Human Races				
	Anthropology	Man				
	Objective Psychology	Man				
	Subjective Psychology	Animals				

Biology

Zoology
Botany
Plasmatology
Organic Chemistry
Inorganic Chemistry

Chemistry

Organisms
Animals
Plants
Protoplasm
Organic Compounds
Inorganic Compounds
Chemical Elements
Matter
Electrons
Ether
Celestial Bodies
The Solar System
Stars
Nebulae

Physics

Barology
Radiology
Etherology
Thermology
Photology
Electrology

Astronomy

Solar Astronomy
Sideral Astronomy
Cosmical Astronomy

Life
Zoism
Motility
Chemical Affinity

Molecular

Chemism

Gravitation-attraction

Radio-activity

Vibration

Heat

Light

Electricity

Motion

Orbital and Axial Revolution

Radiation

Evolution

Radiant

Vital

Physical

Efficient

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such, namely, as letters from the army to a friend, my personal bibliography, reviews and press notices, official reports, and even biographical sketches. The only important deviation from the table here is the transposition of *gamology* from sociology to biology. So many of my papers deal with the sex relations of the lower animals as well as man, and especially of plants, that it seemed proper to make the term apply to all, and not merely to the human race. The word *gamology* is not of my coining. It was apparently first used by a French publicist, M. Charles M. Limousin, in a communication to the Société Sociologique de Paris on June 14, 1905, and appears in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* for July, 1905, Vol. XIII, p. 545. The etymology is perfect and the term was much needed for all that relates to marriage and to the relations of the sexes in general.

A uniform terminology for all the sciences¹ seems impossible, but in the table I have made as many of them as possible end in -ology, as indicating a treatise on or treatment of the several subjects of them, and, besides gamology, I have introduced a few other unfamiliar ones for the sake of uniformity. *Nomology* and *politology* are fully justified, because there is no single English word for the science of either law or the state. *Ecology*, of course, as introduced by

¹ See *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 139-140.

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Haeckel in 1866, for the relations of the organism to its environment, has passed fully into biology, but has been badly perverted. Its broader use here may be accepted without affecting the earlier and narrower meaning. Finally *ethology*, so improperly applied by John Stuart Mill to the science of character, and still more improperly by modern biologists to ecology in Haeckel's sense, has been restored by Wundt¹ to its proper meaning, as I use it. This table was prepared and enlarged as a chart for use in my classes two years before the appearance of Professor Sumner's *Folkways*, in which, on pages 36, 37, and 561, and apparently without knowing that Wundt had already done so, he makes a strong plea for its use in this original and etymologically correct sense.

In unfolding the comprehensive principles and in presenting the chief outlines of Ward's system of philosophy the following may be stated in his own words:

(See *Dy. Soc.*, Preface, pp. xxvii, xxviii.)

1. The law of Aggregation, as distinguished from that of Evolution proper.
2. The Theory of the Social Forces, and the

¹ *Logik*, 2 Aufl., Bd. II, S. 369 ff.

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fundamental antithesis which they imply between Feeling and Function.

3. The contrast between these true Social Forces and the guiding influence of the Intellect, embodying the application of the Indirect Method of Conation and the essential nature of Invention, of Art, and of Dynamic Action.

4. The superiority of Artificial, or Teleological, Processes over Natural, or Genetic, Processes; and, finally—

5. The recognition and demonstration of the paramount necessity for the equal and universal Distribution of the extant Knowledge of the world, which last is the crown of the system itself.

Aggregation, or the law of recompounding, is in chemical union explained by the hypothesis that the molecules of the components enter into a new aggregate. This chemical synthesis has long been believed to typify a large number of other phenomena in all departments of nature. "Truths derived from the combination of other truths become truths of a higher order."

Dr. Ward often remarked: "If anyone knew all in detail that my Chart represents, he would know my entire philosophy."

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He said: "The work of the true philosopher is preëminently the synthesis of human knowledge."

Sufficient knowledge of each major science, thus to understand its relationship to the others, as shown in the hierarchy of his Chart, was considered as necessary by Professor Ward to comprehending his entire system.

The Relation of Sociology to Astronomy, to Physics, to Chemistry, to Biology, to Psychology, leads us to what concerns the sociologist primarily, that is the serial order of phenomena. The more complex sciences grow out of the simpler, by a process of differentiation. The filiation of the sciences is of basic importance to all kindred study. "We not only discover one great law of evolution applicable to all the fields covered by the several sciences of the series, but we can learn something more about the true method of evolution by observing how it takes place in each of these fields." The aid that the higher sciences and the philosophy of science in general may derive from some of the more

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special fields of research, may be shown by illustration from the field of botany. Here it may be seen that plant development, and inferentially animal and social development also, is *sympodial*.

The law of evolution in current conception is *monopodial* in development (the stem or trunk giving off at intervals subordinate branches). In *sympodial* branching the main stem or trunk rises to a certain height and then gives off a branch into which the majority of the fibro-vascular bundles enter, so that the branch virtually becomes the trunk, and the real trunk or ascending portion is reduced to a mere twig. (*P. S.*, p. 72.)¹

Each successive sympode possesses attributes which enable it better to resist the environment, so that the entire process is one of true evolution. When we compare the great fallen races of the globe we find the law of sympodial development explaining much that was before not understood. The human races are as so many trunks or branches upon the sociological tree. Ward's discovery of the sympodial law brought forth the study of anthropologic sympodes. When we concentrate our attention upon these aspects

¹ See *Glimpses of Cosmos*, No. 526, p. 241.

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we find a most remarkable parallelism between the phenomena which we popularly characterize as the rise and fall of nations or empires, and the rise and fall of the great types of life during the progress of geologic history.

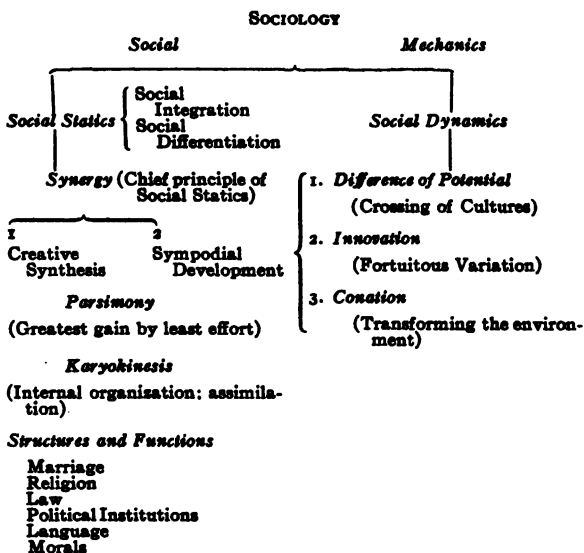
Society is a domain of law. Human events are recognized as phenomena. Careful observation reveals the fact that all social phenomena take place in accordance with laws. The fundamental law of everything psychic, especially of everything that is effected by intelligence is the *law of parsimony; The greatest gain for the least effort.* It is one of the most important laws of social Mechanics. It may be translated into the terms: greatest pleasure for least pain.

Ward divided the essential forces of Social Mechanics into *Social Statics* and *Social Dynamics*. Each of these subdivided into particular laws.

“The method in sociology is generalization. It is essentially the process of grouping phenomena, and using groups as units.” Thus I have inserted Ward’s Charts as a visible method of condensing concisely his great scheme of thought. He thoroughly believed that the treatment of any science may be

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made difficult or easy in proportion as a clear,
exact method is used.



The entire scheme of the mechanics of
Society may be formulated as follows:

Social Mechanics, treating of the Social
Forces.

Social Statics, treating of Social Order.

Social Dynamics, treating of Social
Progress.

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Social Genetics, treating of Social Genesis.

Social Telics, treating of Social Telesis.

Individual Telics, treating of Individual Telesis.

Collective Telics, treating of Collective Telesis.

There is no lack of power for propelling the social machinery, as social energy surges through society in all directions. The innate interests of men work at cross purposes; they conflict, collide, and dash against one another, but in such an unorganized, haphazard, and chaotic way that they do not produce equilibrium, but mutual ruin. (*P. S.*, 169.)

The general social problem, then, is to restrain and control by scientific means social energy.

The simpler manifestations in nature at large are, first:

The principle of *Synergy*: This signifies the organic working together of the antithetical forces of nature. Synergy is a synthesis of work, and this is what is everywhere taking place. "Synergy is the principle that explains

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all organization and creates all structures." Celestial structures are worlds and world systems; chemical structures are atoms, molecules, and substances; biotic structures are protoplasm, cells, tissues, organs, and organisms. There are also psychic structures—feelings, emotions, passions, volitions, perceptions, cognitions, memory, imagination, reason, thought, and all the acts of consciousness. And then there are social structures. Social structures are the product of *social synergy*. They are human institutions. The constructive process inheres in all forms of synergy.

Social Karyokinesis is social assimilation, the conquering race of the conquered race. A people is a synthetic creation. It is not a mechanical mixture. There is no cosmic product in which the detailed operations involved in its formation are as plainly to be seen and traced as in the genesis of a people.

As social statics has to do with the creation of an equilibrium among the forces of human society, so *social dynamics* must have to do

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with some manner of disturbance in the social equilibrium.

"In all departments of nature where the statical condition is represented by structures, the dynamic condition consists in some change in the type of such structures."

As Synergy is the principle that underlies all Social Statics, we find there are three leading principles. These are, *difference of potential*, innovation and conation. Difference of potential is a cosmic principle like synergy. Its operation is seen in the crossing, or cross fertilization of cultures. The cross fertilization of cultures in sociology is what the cross fertilization of germs is to biology. A *culture* is a social structure, a social organism, and ideas are its germs. The process by which the greater part of "mingling of cultures" has been accomplished is the struggle of races. In this struggle may be observed this principle of the *difference of potential*. Progress is the result.

The dynamic principle next in importance to that of difference of potential is *innovation*;

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in its broader aspect it may be called *fortuitous variation*. *Social innovation* may be called invention, or impulse. Invention emphasizes the intellectual side and impulse the feeling side. Dynamic action is progressive, and, instead of leaving the world in the same condition as before, leaves it in a changed, *i.e.*, in an improved condition.

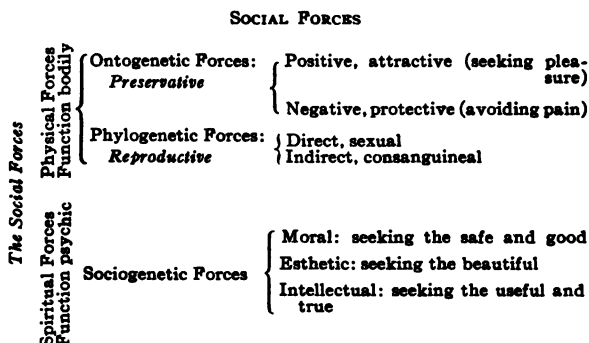
The third dynamic principle is *Conation*; or the modification of surroundings. The effect of a dynamic action is to transform the environment. In biology the environment transforms the organism, while in sociology man transforms the environment. The one is a physiological effect, the other a sociological effect.

The emotions constitute the chief stimuli or social forces, and when we consider the volume of feeling as an essential striving, we find in it all the elements of the will.

The social forces are wants seeking satisfaction through efforts. They reside in the individual, but become social through interaction, coöperation, and cumulative effects.

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The social forces may be classified as the chart below depicts.



The *Ontogenetic* or Preservative Forces may be called the forces of Individual Preservation; the Phylogenetic or the Reproductive Forces may be called the Forces of Race Continuance; and the Sociogenetic Forces as a whole may be called the Forces of Race elevation.

Fear and not love of nature is the characteristic of primitive peoples, and it is worthy of remark, Dr. Ward says, that the attitude of the civilized world toward the social forces is analogous to the attitude of the savage

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toward the physical forces. All know that this is one of apprehension.

Man to-day has learned to avert the dangers of the physical forces and even to harness and utilize them, but he has made very little progress with the social forces. He looks upon the passions precisely as the savage looks upon the tornado. Man is only civilized in relation to the lower and simpler phenomena. Toward the higher and more complex phenomena he is still a savage. Just as pestilences were formerly looked upon as scourges of God, so the so-called evil propensities of man, which are nothing but manifestations of social energy, are still looked upon as necessary inflictions which may be preached against but must be endured. This difference is wholly due to the fact that while we now have sciences of physics, chemistry, geology, and bacteriology, which teach the true nature of storms, electricity, gases, earthquakes, and disease germs, we have no science of social psychology or sociology that teaches the true nature of human motives,

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desires, and passions, or of social wants and needs and the psychic energy working for their satisfaction. True philosophers should look upon the social forces as everybody looks upon the physical and vital forces, and sees in them powers of nature now doing injury, or at least running to waste, that may be controlled and converted into servants of man.

Civilization [Dr. Ward says] consists in the utilization of the materials and forces of nature, but the efficiency of the human race depends absolutely upon food, clothing, shelter, fuel, leisure, and liberty.

The Ontogenetic Forces have subsistence for their end. They may be summed up in the word *hunger*, and they are preservative.

The primitive group or horde is the resultant social structure. Thus far the competition is with one another and with the environment, but when the time arrives for social integration to begin, the competition is one of group with group and wholly new elements enter into the struggle.

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Exploitation, slavery, labor, property, agriculture, production of raw materials, all fall under the ontogenetic law.

All beings which perform actions do so in obedience to desires; thus the basis of all action is *desire*. This is the true force of the sentient world. The Ontogenetic forces are forever seeking pleasure, and avoiding pain.

The object of nature may be said to be the preservation and perpetuation of life; that of man is the satisfaction of desire. The former is objective, and constitutes a biologic process; the latter is subjective, and is a moral or sociologic process. Properly understood, these processes possess no natural or necessary relation to each other. The agreeableness of the acts of nutrition and reproduction exists because without it nutrition and reproduction could never have been secured.

The Phylogenetic Forces are the reproductive ones, summed up in the word *love*, and the *direct* or *sexual*, which is the dominant power of this force, is the earliest, strongest and creative in its primitive forms. As

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society develops there arise derivative products, thus indirect, of the reproductive forces. These are of various kinds and degrees. The sexual desire itself becomes wonderfully expanded in its relations, and comes, in civilized races, to embrace all the manifold phases of love and romantic sentiment, than which no more powerful forces exist in society.

The Preservative Forces are, from the point of view of social progress, greater, more obvious more varied, and more comprehensive than those attending the operations of the Reproductive Forces. The former underlie all the great industrial, economic, and acquisitional movements of society. It is to them that must be attributed all the progressive institutions, all the wealth, all the invention, all the civilization of the world. The latter, on the other hand, while they call forth the most intense activities, do not direct them toward the production of wealth or the advancement of thought. Their influence is internal, rather than external, molding rather than creative. The normal effect of the former is to organize human happiness, and carry it up into higher and higher spheres, furnishing new and more complex objects for the gratification

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of new and more delicate faculties; the normal effect of the latter is to throw over society a softening and refining charm, without which all other forms of enjoyment would be insipid. The one deals with the hard and practical side of life, and its history is characterized by bold and positive inroads upon nature; the other though not without its asperities, is chiefly characterized by a conservative shyness before innovation and an indifference to progress. "The story of the forces of preservation is an epic; that of the forces of perpetuation is a lyric." (*Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I, pp. 598-599.)

Dr. Ward discussed two theories in regard to the facts that lie on the surface of the highly artificial and conventional society of to-day. The relations between the sexes are accounted for either through the *androcentric theory*, or through the *gynæocentric theory*.

The androcentric theory is the view that the male sex is primary and the female secondary in the organic scheme; that all things center, as it were, about the male, and that though the female is necessary in carrying out the scheme, she is only the means of

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continuing the life of the globe, an incidental factor in the general result.

The gynæcocratic theory is the view that the female sex is primary and the male secondary in the organic scheme, that originally all things centered, as it were, about the female, and that the male, though not necessary in carrying out the scheme, was developed under the operation of the principle of advantage to secure organic progress through the crossing of strains.

Dr. Ward said that the prevalence of the androcentric theory was due to the "illusion of the near" and to tradition, convention and prejudice. It so happens that while the facts depended upon to support the androcentric theory are patent to all, those that support the gynæcocratic theory are latent and known to few.

In *Pure Sociology* we find a particularly full statement of the gynæcocratic theory. It is one of the most detailed treatments to be found in Ward's writings.

The Gynæcocracy theory was new, and

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as Ward says in *Pure Sociology* (p. 297), "perhaps somewhat startling." To the *Forum*, Vol. VI, November, 1888, he contributed an article entitled "Our Better Halves." That article constituted the first authorized statement of the gynæcocentric theory that was published. In his first presidential address before the Biological Society of Washington, he alludes to it again.

The Sociogenetic Forces are the socializing and civilizing impulses of mankind.

Morality considered from the standpoint of its origin is of two kinds: *race morality* and *individual morality*. The roots of both of these classes penetrate very deeply; both kinds were the products of the rational faculty.

The *Biological Imperative* and the *Social Imperative* are forever having a conflict in the expression of their powers in society, but on going into the influences of these forces, we find both the race and the individual marching onwards in their natural development.

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The *Æsthetic Forces* have passed through three stages: the receptive, the imaginative and the creative. Art is a socializing agency. It is a typical sociogenetic force. It finally becomes a spiritual necessity. The very word *æsthetic* means feeling. The enjoyment of life consists in satisfying feelings.

The Intellectual Forces may be grouped into three chief interests: (1) to acquire knowledge; (2) to discover truth; (3) to impart information.

The constructive quality of the intellect is the most important of all the faculties, and probably is the one that has achieved the most, and contributed the largest additions to the general fact which is commonly understood as civilization.

The Intellectual forces constitute the latest manifestation of the dynamic agent.

After contemplating deeply and writing carefully of the great forces which he believed were to be studied in the laboratory of human achievement, he writes first of *The Sociological Perspective*, and then of *Action* in that

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social achievement. *Social evolution is only a continuation of organic evolution*, and there is quite as much proof of the former as of the latter.

If humanity as a whole is ever to eliminate the ignorance and evils of life and accelerate the movement of social progress, it must be through the intellect of man, the *directive agent*, which guides and directs the dynamic agent centered in the feelings.

The social forces are natural forces and obey mechanical laws. They are blind impulses. This is as true of the spiritual as of the physical forces.

The restraint and control of social energy is therefore the only condition to social evolution. All true forces are in themselves essentially centrifugal and destructive. There are two ways of controlling social energy, one an unconscious process, or the *genetic* method—social genesis; the other the *telic* or directive method.

The social forces left to themselves blindly impel or propel mankind, and the world

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drifts as aimlessly as an iceberg. The mission of the directive agent is to guide society through no matter how tortuous a channel to the safe harbor of social prosperity.

The directive agent is a final cause. It is not a force—yet it has immense influence. Genetic phenomena are produced by efficient causes only. The final cause consists essentially in the knowledge by the *telic* agent of the *nature* of the natural force and the relations subsisting between the subject, the object, the force, and the end. *Final causes command or utilize efficient causes; or the forces of nature.* Civilization chiefly consists in the exercise of the telic faculty. If we regard all the forces of nature, including the social forces, as so many means to the ends of man and society, *telesis* becomes the adjustment of means to ends, and all human effort is expended upon the means.

There are two kinds of telic progress, or telesis, individual and collective. The former is the principal kind thus far employed.

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Society itself must be looked upon as being mainly unconscious.

To the sociologist and philosopher like Lester Ward, the problem is how to minimize the amount of suffering and enlarge, magnify, the volume of life: *how to accelerate social evolution.*

Man has been looked upon as a product of nature and as having developed like other products. Society has been contemplated as an evolution. All this belongs to genetic progress or evolution proper. Lester Ward was the only one who has attempted to show from a biologic, or psychologic standpoint, that in restricting social progress to these passive influences, an important factor is left out of view. This factor he maintains, is a subjective one not found at any lower stage of development, and exclusively characterizing human or social progress. It was chiefly to emphasize this factor that he wrote *Dynamic Sociology*. The second volume was devoted to this task. Later in order to elucidate more fully the subject he devoted an

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entire book to it—*Psychic Factors of Civilization*, which appeared in 1893.

To review the entire philosophy of mind and join this to that of society, was a giant's task. Many men consider this book as the greatest work on psychology of the century. The original and forceful ideas on the Economy of Nature and Mind brought forth in Chapter XXXIII, cover a field never before thus reviewed by man.

The whole difference between civilization and other forms of natural progress is that it is a product of art. Art is the natural product of the inventive faculty which is only a form of intuitive perception or intuitive reason, and belongs to the main trunk of intellect. *The artificial is infinitely superior to the natural.* Social science is the only science that can teach the art of becoming truly civilized. The mental and social state to which social science points is neither optimism nor pessimism, but a firmer, clearer, more scientific way for the betterment of society is shown by Dr. Ward's *Meliorism*. Both

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optimism and pessimism are passive states of mind. The true state is an active one. Both optimism and pessimism assume nature to be in an active state toward man; the true attitude makes nature passive and man active. *Meliorism* is a dynamical principle. It implies the improvement of the social condition through cold calculation, through the adoption of indirect means.

The world has passed through stages of autocracy and aristocracy into the stages of democracy and plutocracy. Each of these stages represented in more or less degree is stamped upon the earth today, and there is a natural reaction against them all. How can society escape the "individual reign?" What is the remedy? There is one power and only one that is greater than that which now rules society. That power is society itself. There is one form of government that is stronger than autocracy or aristocracy or democracy, or even plutocracy, and that is *sociocracy*. The individual has reigned long enough. The day has come for society to take its affairs into its own hands and shape its own destinies. The individual has acted as best he could. He has acted in the only way he could. With a consciousness, will and intellect of his

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own he could do nothing else than pursue his natural ends. He should not be denounced nor called names. He should not even be blamed. (*Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 323.)

Sociocracy differs from all other forms of government yet devised, and still no revolution will be required to reach it in the course of natural evolution. Just as absolute monarchy passed imperceptibly into limited monarchy, and in many states, without even an outward change of name, has passed into democracy, so is democracy capable of passing as smoothly into sociocracy.

Collective telesis is the social need in the machinery of Sociocracy.

This general *social art*, the scientific control of the social forces by the collective mind of society for its advantage, in strict homology with the practical arts of the industrial world, is *Sociocracy*.

Sociocracy is not even to be confounded with *socialism*; or with competitive individualism. A few antithetical propositions which Ward placed at the end of his

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book, *Outlines of Sociology*, are clear and concise:

1. Individualism has created artificial inequalities.

2. Socialism seeks to create artificial equalities.

3. Sociocracy recognizes natural inequalities and aims to abolish artificial inequalities.

4. Individualism confers benefits on those only who have the ability to obtain them, by superior power, cunning, intelligence, or the accident of position.

5. Socialism would confer the same benefits on all alike, and aims to secure equality of fruition.

6. Sociocracy would confer benefits in strict proportion to merit, but insists upon *equality of opportunity* as the only means of determining the degree of merit.

A cycle is thus completed. *Sociocracy* is a return to nature from which society has departed. Individualism was the original and natural method recognizing natural inequalities and apportioning benefits according to natural ability. Individual telestis has completely abolished this method. Social-

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ism recognizes this, and would remedy it by an equally wide departure from the natural. Collective telesis can alone remove the artificial barriers raised by individual telesis and place society once more in the free current of natural law.

In the "Personal Remark" included in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Ward mentions principles and names, contributions he believed he had made to human thought. "These contributions," he says, "are of many kinds."

The growth of the idea in my mind may thus be traced.

1. Synergy; the constructive principle of nature.

2. Creation in general, including recombining.

3. Creative synthesis. Wundt's idea expanded by me.

4. The *nisus* of nature or universal creative energy.

5. The continuity of nature resulting in the ascending series of synthetic creations.

6. The natural storage of energy.

7. Sympodial development.

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8. The nature of motility, or transition from molecular to molar activity.

9. The maintenance of a difference of potential.

10. Fortuitous variation.

11. The natural origin of mind, both of feeling and of intellect.

12. Telesis, or anthropoteleology.

13. Innovation as a dynamic principle.

14. Conation, especially in society.

15. The biological imperative.

16. Gynæcocracy, or the priority and superiority of the female sex throughout nature.

17. The group sentiment of safety, or primordial social plasm.

18. The elimination of the wayward, as the essential function of religion.

This list, of course, could be greatly extended. Many of these laws, principles, and truths are very broad and embrace subordinate ones that might be treated independently. Some are closely related to others and run together, for such is the nature of all truth. But as they stand here they constitute the essential elements of a great cosmic philosophy, which is as nearly new as anything can be in the domain of human thought.

Perhaps no words of Dr. Ward's can so wisely express his broad and deep feelings

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embracing human society and his desire to have the entire "swarming and spawning millions" benefited rightly, as the final lines of the last lecture he ever delivered. One may find the words in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. VI, p. 397:

The education and preservation of the select few of the higher classes, of the emerged hundredth, to the neglect of the submerged tenth and the rest of the ninety-nine hundredths of society, covers too small a field. I cannot bring myself to work contentedly in a field so narrow, however fascinating in itself. Perhaps mine is a "vaulting ambition," but I want a field that shall be broad enough to embrace the whole human race.

For an indefinite period yet to come society will continue to be recruited from the base. The swarming and spawning millions of the lower ranks will continue in the future as in the past to swamp all the fruits of intelligence and compel society to assimilate this mass of crude material as best it can.

This is commonly looked upon as the deplorable consequence of the demographic law referred to, and it is said that society is doomed to hopeless degeneracy. Is it possible to take any other

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view? I think it is, and the only consolation, the only hope, lies in the truth that, so far as the native capacity, the potential quality, the "promise and potency" of a higher life are concerned, those swarming, spawning millions, the bottom layer of society, the proletariat, the working classes, the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," nay, even the denizens of the slums—that all these are by nature the peers of the boasted "aristocracy of brains" that now dominates society and looks down upon them, and the equals in all but privilege of the most enlightened teachers of eugenics.

CHAPTER VI

CONTINUITY

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CONTINUITY

IN 1911, on August 17th, Lester F. Ward wrote a few words to suggest the opening thought for a final volume he had expected to write, to complete his *System of Philosophy*:

Heights and Depths are One

He had for a long time contemplated the idea of humanity and religion. He recognized the need of the human mind for some sort of religion, and claimed that scientific thought in its highest meaning and expression is not cold and materialistic, but unites all human creatures instead of dividing them, as they are divided in the many sects of to-day. He began the notes for this volume on *Con-*

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tinuity on his last trip to Europe in 1911, and gave them to me when he returned. Before sailing on the S.S. *Helig Olaf*, I gave him a little red leather covered blank book, saying: "When you are alone on the ship, or when traveling on the Continent, do not let any of your fine thoughts drift away from you. Put them in this little book, it will just fit in your pocket." He laughed and remarked: "What shall I write? So many thoughts come and go?" I then suggested that he write the ideas which came when contemplating his fast evolving book on Continuity.

The development of the race through the many and various fetiches, superstitions, creeds, sects, dogmas, etc., were to him but indices of the step in evolution to which a race or even an individual has evolved. He believed with Lecky, that as clerical influence strengthens, civilization proportionally declines, and *vice versa*. Critical historical investigation will confirm this statement. As learning was restored in Europe there came the dawn of free thought. The history

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of the growth of European civilization is the history of the certain decline of the power of the Church.

In the essay entitled *The Essential Nature of Religion* which Ward wrote in 1898 (see *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. VI, p. 9) he gives a profound and scholarly outlook into the basic ideas underlying religion.

He believed in the essential nature of a religious instinct; of "a faith" for humanity, and as the old creeds and dogmas pass into gradual oblivion through the deeper comprehension of Nature's laws, and Science leading the way to a nobler, a finer, grander, freer expression of human relationships, Man will feel the beauty and truth of the great law of Continuity.

On August 23, 1911, Ward wrote: "Monism. The true monism is the absolute continuity of nature. Its broadest law is evolution, which goes on in all departments."

Worlds, atoms, substances, organisms, men, societies, all are evolved. The process of evolution is organization. There is cosmic

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organization, chemical organization, biotic organization, psychic organization, and social organization. The process is the same in all. The principles of evolution are those that produce the formation and the organization of the products of evolution. The principles that produce the formation of the products of evolution are:

(1) Synergy; (2) Creative Synthesis; (3) Sympodial Dichotomy.

On August 24th, he added:

All the phenomena of all the sciences conform to one law—Evolution—are the result of one process—Organization. This is true monism and represents absolute continuity in nature.

And then continued:

The last and latest product is Society, which is the subject of the highest science which is Sociology, all the laws and principles of which are at work also in all the sciences below it.

Then on September 16, 1911, 4 A.M., he writes:

I reflect constantly on the title of my next book, and have this morning arrived at the

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following as the most satisfactory thus far:
Monism, the true Quietism, or, The Continuity
of Nature as the Only Faith that can Satisfy the
Emancipated Soul.

September 21st.

Attended a meeting in Freiburg of the Internationale Order of Ethischen Cultur and heard a paper on Jesuitical Monism. A large work by Klimke, S. J. was passed round. It bears the title monism, was said not to be an attack on it but a Jesuitical interpretation of it. The paper read showed that all kinds of people are taking up the word and making it conform to their views. If such is the case I would rather not use it in my book.

On his return from Europe he remarked one day in conversation that the universal comprehension of Nature, a knowledge of the never ceasing, immutable, continuous laws of the cosmos, would give to mankind a keener appreciation of an evolving universe in which every human could do his part than anything else could. To be aware of the fact that no one ever was *utterly independent*; that the very generation of which one is a

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part has inherited the experiences and knowledge of the long line of ancestors in the ages of the past, should inspire one to add to the whole, to give one's best personal service in order to contribute one's share to life's great continuous flow. It was this thought that caused him to choose as the title of the book he had hoped to write the word "Continuity."

The thought of Unity, of Oneness, the calmness which the contemplation of the cosmos, forever evolving, eternally changing, the infinite, without beginning and without end, was urging itself upon him so that the "beauty of faith," would give to all who had finished with unscientific theology the "sweet peace of a scientific outlook," a religion that was satisfactory to an emancipated soul; a scientific demonstrable religion, or faith in *Continuity*. It was the being able to lose all *personal* life, all the little self in the comprehension of the immortality of achievement, of the being a part of the great Cosmos, that fed the desire to express the ever-present

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thought of continuity in his last philosophical inspirations.

To have this comprehension of *Continuity* become a more general and broader accepted fact over the world he repeated in different forms and under different titles the same thought of education and yet more education of the laws of nature. When he was in Europe in 1909 he delivered an address in Oxford, at Ruskin College (see *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. VI, p. 330), entitled: *Education and Progress*. It was before working classes and he says:

They catechized me sharply and I was surprised at the kind of questions they asked. They were not about any personal matters, hours of labor, wages, etc., but about the constitution of the universe, the origin of the solar system, of the earth, of life on the globe, and of the human race. Such are the questions that present themselves to the laboring classes as soon as they begin to receive a little real education.

Then again when in Europe in 1911, and speaking of what education can do he writes:

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The immense difference and wide contrast between the Italian people and the people of Switzerland struck me forcibly in 1909 when I traveled from Naples to Geneva and Bern. It is not less striking this year in traveling from Norway, Germany, and Switzerland through Italy. In the other countries, also largely in England and France, there is thrift, independence and cleanliness. In Italy there is a general aspect of poverty, dependence, and untidiness.

There is no doubt that the cholera in Italy is due to this uncleanness of the lower classes. Everything looks rough and unclean. There is a general air of misery, and the swarms of mendicants and low venders are unknown in other countries. These are the facts. What is the cause? Hereditarians attribute it to difference of race and natural characteristics. Lombroso was the representative of this doctrine. Nature does it all. The people of Italy are natural beggars and thieves. Italian sociologists are all criminologists. The prevalence of crime in Italy keeps that aspect of the science in the foreground and excludes all else.

In direct opposition to the hereditary view, I hold that the above mentioned contrast is due entirely to the artificial causes. I mean that the institutions of the northern countries are the cause of their thrift and independence. But primarily it is the general state of public instruc-

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tion that produces the effect. It is the neglect of public instruction in Italy that keeps it in poverty and wretchedness, as well as in squalor, filth and disease. The Italians are naturally bright. Even the beggars are keen judges of human nature. The thieves and other criminals are smart and acute in their minds. All any of these classes and the common people of Italy need is to be educated. Education would transform them from beggars, criminals, and degraded wretches into intelligent, honest, thrifty, clean, and healthy citizens. Of this I am perfectly certain. But notwithstanding Mazzini's warning and advice, in the matter of education it seems to be almost wholly neglected in Italy, which is more like Spain, and Russia than like enlightened nations.

In a conversation afterwards was mentioned the necessary natural observation that all Catholic countries like Spain, Italy, Ireland were the most backward in the awakening of their people to scientific facts; of course this proved the lack of true education for the masses.

In *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I, page 299, we find these words:

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There are no breaks in the processes of nature, and the aim of all true philosophy is to establish the continuity which the philosopher is confident must exist throughout all its departments.

Perhaps during the whole career of Lester F. Ward there was no thought deeper, or no desire stronger than to awaken humanity to the necessary idea that education is the basic necessity for progress.

In the words of *Dynamic Sociology* (Vol. II, p. 632):

The problem of education is, therefore, reduced to this; whether the members of society shall continue to pass through life surrounded only by the natural and unorganized influences which everywhere exist, by which they are indeed constantly acquiring knowledge, such as it is, and many conceptions which are not knowledge because they consist of erroneous inferences; whether they shall thus be left to form all kinds of undigested and unsystematized ideas, half of which are objectively unreal, and most of the remainder too narrow to be of any value, yet to which their conduct will rigidly correspond, producing its legitimate effect upon themselves and upon society; or, whether they shall be

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required to pass a portion of their early lives under a system of artificial circumstances, so regulated that the bulk of the influences which appeal to the senses and produce ideas will be both reliable and important, and from which, under no other than the normal operations of the mind, reliable and valuable knowledge must necessarily result, solid character be formed, and the highest ethical and dynamic actions be induced, exerting rigidly corresponding effects upon themselves and upon society. It is, in short, the question whether the social system shall always be left to nature, always be genetic and spontaneous, and be allowed to drift listlessly on, intrusted to the by no means always progressive influences which have developed it and brought it to its present condition, or whether it shall be regarded as a proper subject of art, treated as other natural products have been treated by human intelligence, and made as much superior to nature, in this only proper sense of the word, as other artificial productions are superior to natural ones.

Education finally would bring to the development of each human being a knowledge of the reality of *Continuity* in Nature. It was this power of being able to forget oneself, and to become conscious of all that which

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makes for achievement for humanity, that Dr. Ward kept strongly in his thought during the contemplation of his book he expected to complete.

No one who ever came into close contact with him failed to see that he was a man of noblest human type. In intellectual stature he was a giant, and in love of truth and loyalty to convictions he was unfaltering. He united a rare humility with a brave and impartial spirit for his conclusions. He was unworldly to the degree of real sacrifice that few men have for truth's sake.

The words of Le Conte which Ward quoted in *Psychic Factors of Civilization* (p. 292) seem to belong here:

But I pass these by with bare mention to fix attention on only one, viz., the modern social doctrine of *human progress*. Observe, however, I mean not mere natural evolution, or unconscious progress according to necessary law, but *conscious voluntary progress* according to a free law, a conscious striving after a higher goal, for the individual and for the race.

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The continuity of human progress, this conscious and voluntary progress of humanity, Ward believed would according to the laws of evolution bring forth tremendous results.

There is nothing new, of course, in the monistic idea. It is the foundation of Haeckel's philosophy. Ward, however, carried the idea of continuity somewhat farther than others. He dwelt upon the continuous character of biological evolution. Individual organisms, and species, perish, but the world of living forms remains. This applies, of course, to the human race. As Pascal wrote: "The whole succession of men, during the long series of ages, should be considered as One Man, who continues to live and who continually learns."

CHAPTER VII
"THE WARD ROOM"



Entrance to the Ward Room

LETTER FROM
PROF. H. L. KOOPMAN

THE LIBRARY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
EAST SIDE STATION

H. L. KOOPMAN
LIBRARIAN

22 Nov., 1921.

DEAR MRS. CAPE:

It gave me great pleasure to extend to you the freedom of the Ward Library. One of the deep satisfactions of my position is derived from the fact that it makes me custodian of this memorial to my friend, who was also through his books and his conversation my teacher. It is much that America has at last awoke to the importance of preserving memorials of its great men so that the future may have means of knowing them as they lived and wrought. Of all the men who flourished in America during a period centering around the year 1900 whom will the after world wish to know intimately more than Dr. Ward? I hope that still more memorials may be added to this collection, rich as it is. Truly, such spots as these

are pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no code or creed confined,—
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind.
(Halleck on Burns.)

Ever faithfully yours,
HARRY L. KOOPMAN.

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CHAPTER VII

"THE WARD ROOM"

CLIMBING up one of the steepest hills in Providence, R. I., one winds to the top by way of Waterman Street. Brown University is situated on this hill-top and the houses on the inclined street are not particularly noticeable, but to anyone who has ever halted before the low steps of Number 49 and realized that one was to grasp the hand of a great man, the memory would be deeply engraved.

In this house Mrs. Ward lived while she remained in Providence. The low old-fashioned architecture gives an atmosphere of quiet and refinement. From there is but a short walk to the Campus. One walks a few minutes soon turning the corner passing

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the "Carrie Tower," and then sees the John Hay Memorial Library.

It is here that since the death of Dr. Ward a room has been given to preserve his books and letters and many unpublished manuscripts.

One of the manuscripts entitled: *Signs of the Times* (written 1869) opens with these words:

Those who live in the midst of great moral and intellectual revolutions are seldom aware of their existence. It remains for history in after years to fix the date of their commencement and estimate the importance of their results.

Indeed these words might easily be transferred to the personal greatness of Lester F. Ward, simply changing the words *revolutions* to *attainments* and *existence* to *achievements*.

The old Morris chair by the window is the chair which Dr. Ward used entirely for his working hours during the last years of his life, and the little lap-board standing near is what he used as an adjustable table-top, placing it across the arms of the chair, and



The Old Chair

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thus so easily lifted to wherever he wished his writing pages carried.

As one sits in the old Morris chair one feels the silent speech of each book from the shelves all around, every one had been handled hundreds of times by him who never owned a book but to really use it.

The extended desk from the old typed bookcase was an idea of his own. He had it built so that he could more readily walk to his book-shelves for reference while writing.

Dr. Ward often stood for hours at work on this desk. One could easily notice that he was a tall man from the height of the desk which he comfortably leaned over as he wrote.

The big six foot *Chart of Knowledge* which had been unrolled and used by its originator, and had been copied by so many students, seemed to lean against the corner of the room, as if wondering when again it might be triumphantly hung on the wall to give of its bountiful knowledge to others. Every object spoke of service, in the life of one whose

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simplicity of environment and whose giant intellect told a story of genius far ahead of his day.

Emerson has said in his essay on *Uses of Great Men*: "Other men are lenses through which we read our own minds." Lester Ward was a telescope that drew our attention to glorious objects too far off for our little sight. He gave us thoughts by which we could feel the wonderful future that is possible for humanity, as it achieves the knowledge and the wisdom whereby to attain to its own powers for the benefit of all.

There is an old saying: "The great are always near," and in the simple, silent room where one may go to feel the nearness of the personal books and papers of Dr. Ward, one is conscious of the thoughts which involuntarily spring up that he gave to us all—constructive, magnetic, purposeful, fertile—and one wonders how long it may be before such grand ideas may really become a part of *every* mind that enters a university.

"Each man is, by secret liking," says

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Emerson, "connected with some district of nature, whose agent and interpreter he is, as Linnæus, of plants, Huber, of bees; Fries, of lichens; Van Mons, of pears; Dalton, of atomic forms; Euclid, of lines; Newton, of fluxions," and we may add that Ward was superbly connected with humans. A great man is a magnet and draws those who are attracted.

As the years roll by and the study of the progress of the race becomes more truly from the principles underlying it, the little room containing the books and manuscripts of Lester Ward may become as a shrine for all those who loved his genius.

Thus do one's thoughts pass while sitting there and as the Chinese Manches spoke: "A sage is the instructor of a hundred ages," and true genius never impoverishes but liberates, and one senses a new wealth, a quality of assurance that even though no longer in the flesh, Lester Ward shall forever inspire men to think and to stand for principles which will add to the progress and up-

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lifting of Humanity. We close the door quietly, and feel refreshed as if the memory of a great man had given us strength for finer work in life.

